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ABSTRACT

This curriculum packet on politics and international relations in India contains an essay, three lessons and a variety of charts, maps, and additional readings to support the unit. The essay is entitled "India 1994: The Peacock and the Vulture." The lessons include: (1) "The Kashmir Dispute"; (2) "India: Domestic Order and International Affairs, A Role Playing Activity"; and (3) "Defining Democracy: India, A Case Study." (EH)

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India

Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad 1994 (India)

Curriculum Projects Developed by 1994 Seminar Participants

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USEFI Final Report
Fulbright Seminar Required Report

A reading by Paul Dickler
Three lessons by Paul Dickler
Charts, maps, and additional
readings by authors as noted
and cited in the Bibliography.
Several are edited or revised to
meet the goals of lessons.

November 12, 1994

FULBRIGHT-HAYES SEMINAR CURRICULUM PROJECT-AUTUMN, 1994

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

The Fulbright-Hayes Seminar Program provides a very comprehensive and richly textured experience in India. The United States Educational Foundation in India immersed participants in India's arts, religion, politics, history, social life, and overall culture with amazing intensity in a six week time span. I have emerged from the experience with a broader world view,. renewed compassion for the human condition, and sensitivity to India's needs as a nation. I am also a better teacher and a better person due to the experience. While my curriculum project deals with politics and international relations, the India experience has informed me in a broad spectrum manner, and I will use all aspects of this experience to enrich my teaching. One note of caution needs to be inserted. Six weeks in India does not make anyone an expert on India. Not only are many original questions still unanswered, but many new ones have been raised.

INDIA 1994 THE PEACOCK AND THE VULTURE

India is at a major crossroads today. In a very real sense it is a "last chance" before impending disasters. As a nation with a middle class well in excess of 200 million people, a technological capability among the highest in the world, a space program, nuclear power and weapons, a strong agricultural program, and the world's largest democracy, the potential exists for India to move forward competitively and successfully in the world. However, India is also the nation with more than 900,000,000 people as of 1994, living in an area less than one third the size of the United States. It has some of the world's worst air and water pollution, and an enormous government bureaucracy seemingly incapable of solving even small problems. While India has an advanced and talented scientific establishment capable of solving imposing scientific and engineering problems, it lacks a managerial base and thus finds itself unable to solve sewage treatment or basic transportation problems.

This great paradox, India, is best understood by realizing that life in India today is like living in three different centuries at once. The large middle class and small upper class is living squarely in the contemporary twentieth century. The recent and new urban arrivals as well as many traditional villagers, are primarily living in

conditions approximating 1900 in the U.S.A. Urban poverty, rustic living conditions, the absence of plumbing or electricity, and poor transportation and communication are all common. Of course, the occasional village television or a long distance telephone and fax store are clear reminders that a technology from fifty to one hundred years in advance is also present. Finally, many of India's fourteen million tribals as well as some of the more remote villages and farming communities, are living a life similar to hundreds of years ago. The occasional bicycle or water pump are often the only modern intrusions other than the sounds of distant trains and airplanes, and the sight of electric power lines and occasional tourists.

India is divided by more than these overarching lifestyle and class lines. India is also a nation of twenty-five states, each with an identity that frequently includes different languages, literacy rates, religious composition, clothing, food, and political views. Every Indian rupee note contains fifteen languages. Alphabetically these include Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marati, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. In addition, Hindi and English are found throughout the note, being national languages of a sort. Sanskrit, which is spoken nowhere, appears because of its cultural importance. However, Rajastani, the main language

of Rajastan, is not recognized as a national language. While Rajastani is the most obvious example, dozens of other languages are widely spoken in Inida but given reduced, if any, recognition by the national government. No tribal languages have any national recognition.

Literacy in India averages under 60% but varies from the 35% range in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to 95% in Kerala to near 5% in many tribal areas. Communication varies from modern, if not very efficient, urban telecommunications, microwave relay stations, satellite feeds, and much more, to rural areas without any linking communication whatsoever. Some villages have limited electric power and a few televisions and radios. An Indian prime minister cannot truly address the nation at one time. Perhaps 300 million or more people would be in the dark, or at least one third of the population.

While transportation is more uniform throughout India, it is uniformly inefficient, except for air travel, once you leave the airport! Even in air travel, the security searches for bombs, weapons, and batteries combined with the use of handwritten lists for boarding passes, makes securing a seat and negotiating the procedures difficult at best.In addition, the search procedures are plagued with inefficiency. Rail travel is clearly established, largely

due to the British occupation, but most trains average no more than 35 miles per hour on a long passenger trip. A 450 mile journey could easily take fifteen to twenty hours and all first class seats may be fa cing backwards. Some train cars are so crowded that people are riding outside the cars and just hanging on. Roads, even when paved, are slow going. While 35,000 Indians are killed each year in traffic accidents, a rate twenty times higher than in the U.S.A. when number of registered vehicles and miles travelled are considered, the number is this low due to the slow speeds. Speeds of 45 miles per hour are rarely achieved anywhere. Might makes right on the Indian road so there is never a guarantee of a lane in either direction. Cows, goats, hogs, and water buffalo often clog rural and urban streets alike. In downtown Calcutta, it is not unusual to take more than an hour to travel less than one mile. With diesel fuel costing less than half the price of gasoline, the air in urban areas is among the world's worst, competing with Mexico City and Bangkok. Autorickshaws, buses, trucks, and motorcylces pump enormous amounts of pollutants into already congested, densely populated areas.

India is also sharply divided along urban and rural lines. Thirty years ago, India's population of under 450 million, less than half of today's population, was more than 85% rural. Today, less than 70% of India's population is rural. The 250 million plus Indians living in urban areas are sharply divided in terms of living standards. Much of India's middle class is urban, but there are also millions of homeless people in the cities. Bombay's population of 12.6 million people increases by 1000 families a day. Perhaps more than 3 million people in Bombay are homeless or living in shanty towns. One is struck by the contrasts in living standards. A comfortable middle class family often lives side by side with cardboard and plastic shanty homes. One only needs to walk Bombay's streets at night to discover that the city is remarkably safe and quiet, yet heavily populated by rats and littered with garbage. It is not surprising that there has been at outbreak of plague in parts of Maharastra state this year.

Calcutta, with a population of 11 million possesses even more stark contrasts than Bombay. The Oberoi Grand Hotel, one of the world's finest five star hotels, is only feet away from homeless people not far from death, lying in the streets. The monsoon rains mix with human and animal waste spreading a brown slime over many streets and

sidewalks. The air is often oppressively loaded with pollutants. The rich and poor, for at least a part of the day, share difficult living conditions. The real charm and beauty of Calcutta is increasingly below the surface, harder and harder to keep in view and in mind. For each prostitute or destitute person saved by Mother Teresa, thousands more remain lost on Calcutta's streets.

Bombay and Calcutta are the two most extreme urban examples, but dozens of other cities suffer similar problems on a smaller scale. For Madras, water pollution is among its biggest problems. For Agra, literacy and sanitation are among its biggest problems. New Delhi/ Delhi has problems approaching the scope of Bombay's and Calcutta's, but its large geographic area and resulting ability to sprawl has also diluted its problems somewhat. The most notable exception is Bangalore, India's "silicon valley" equivalent. Bangalore's population of over four million is remarkably free of unemployment and poverty. Its excellent weather, its distance from other problems, and its concentration of non-polluting industries, all help to produce this urban exception.

Yet, despite these contrasts within India's cities. the rural contrasts previously alluded to are much greater. 70%

of India's 900 million plus population is still rural. While cities such as New Delhi are quickly converting rural areas into urban ones, farming will remain the major occupation of most Indians. Rice, grains, spices, coffee, sugar cane, tea, cotton, cashews, juta,linseed, copra, and coir are all grown in great quantities in India. India's participation in the "green revolution" has dramatically increased its agricultural output. With almost 60% arable land and many successful flood control projects, its agricultural future continues to look promising.

If one can imagine, however, one of two pessimistic agricultural projections, trouble may be on the horizon. If India mechanizes its agriculture on a large scale, its production will rise, but its unemployment and cultural dislocations would be enormous. Millions of people have already fled from villages and farms to the big cities which can not accomodate tham at present. The large families which are somewhat absorbed by rural and village life, are far less integrated into urban life. The second, and not necessarily independent projection, involves the negative environmental effects of both the green revolution and overpopulation. Insecticide resistent insects, huge fertilizer needs, and water pollution, all pose serious threats to future agriculture.

There are more than 700 people per square mile in India. Almost 40% are below the age of 15. These statistics are at the heart of most problems in India. Population threatens most everything in India: its food supply, its resource availability, its cities, its water, its air, its very way of life. Solutions are difficult, if not impossible to come by, without transforming India in ways anathema to the population. Having only one child per family, as practiced in the Peoples Republic of China, would run completely contrary to Indian democracy and the will of most Indian people. India 's brief experiment with martial law in the late 1970s under Indira Gandhi, led to her loss as a prime minister, a rejection of martial law, and questionable results of the policy itself. Observers still dispute to this day whether martial law failed or succeeded. If it failed, was it because of its very nature, or because it was in place for too short a time? In any event, martial law for the purpose of population control is sure to meet widespread opposition and political suicide for those supporting it.

Encouragement of birth control and abortion have also resulted in many problems. It is illegal in India to have an abortion for the purpose of determining the sex of a child. Yet, this practice is widespread. In northern India,

as of 1994, there are only 87 females for each 100 males in the population. This trend shows no real signs of abating and it shows that abortion, as a last chance to prevent childbirth, is fraught with cultural and religious issues and may result in a most unnatural imbalance in the population. Abortion has had some small effect in limiting population, but it has been a most uneven one. Early efforts to encourage condom use, fell prey to both lack of cooperation and false rumor. Many Hindus believed that animal membranes were being used for the condoms, and as vegetarians, they opposed their use. Other forms of birth control such as IUDs and diaphragms require a far most extensive network of health care services and education.

Perhaps the most widely recognized method of securing population control without force, is through economic improvement and education. India's huge middle class, 200 million strong, is not having a population problem among its own class membership. Birth control is widely used and abortions are not generally abused. This leaves 700 million people, some of whom need further education, and all of whom need economic improvement. The incentive for small family size is lost on this population. Many children are needed to tend crops in rural and village areas. Many children are needed among the urban poor to provide some income and a possible "insurance policy" for old age.

India's educational and medical networks may best be described as uneven. India has many outstanding universities, but the upper middle and upper classes often educate their children in British or American universities. Indian Universities may be an important draw for the recently emergent portions of the middle class and for countries such as Nepal, but they must go further to attract more extremely talented students and to help avoid possibly losing those people most capable of solving India's problems. India's complex web of "public" and "private" schools, range from rudimentary one room shacks with almost no materials or support, to advanced, sophisticated, state of the art centers for learning. It is here in all of India's schools where the solution to the population problem most truly is located. A recent Rajastani educational campaign was launched to encourage birth control and safe sex. Many more campaigns together with economic improvement will be essential to solve problems.

Medical services include high tech hospitals with ground-breaking surgical techniques to, dangerously ill-supplied and poorly trained street clinics. Medical services must be available to keep children healthy enough to get a good education, and to provide those additional services that a good education will encourage, such as birth control.

AIDS is at the confluence of the problems just discussed. As of 1994, estimates of HIV Positive cases among Indians range from 2 million persons to 14 million persons.

If we use one percent of the population as a realistic estimate for HIV Positive and full blown cases of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, that number would be 9 million people. While this percentage would be only slightly higher than that of the United States, its trajectory is dramatically different. AIDS is spreading dramatically in India's big cities, among its prostitute population, and among its network of truck drivers. At this rate, AIDS could easily spread to 2%, 3%, or more of the population by the year 2000. In other words, AIDS is spreading rapidly among the heterosexual population. Contaminated blood supplies and poor medical services may complicate this emerging problem.

Sadly, there are many in the middle class who have given up hope in helping the 300 million poorest Indians. They are tired of shanty towns, the homeless, street sewage, and ignorance. Some use Hinduism as a cover and simply say, "bad karma, too bad, better luck next time around." Others have gone as far as seeing AIDS as a solution to overpopulation! Truly, desperation and hopelessness have

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affected important segments of the Indian middle class. If AIDS is to be a solution, then truly, that would mean there is almost no hope.

Religion also plays an important role here. Many Hindus believe that the Muslims are trying to overpopulate them as a solution to minority status. India is 83% Hindu, 11% Islam, 3% Christian, and 2% Sikh. With a population of more than 90 million Muslims, India has more of this group than any country in the Middle East or Pakistan. Only Indonesia has more Muslims. Even 3% of the population is not insignificant when it means more than 27 million people. The Muslim population in India is perhaps the most impoverished, more so than the officially illegal but none-the-less commonly present Untouchable Hindu population. Th portion of the population is most susceptible to overpopulation.

With the advent of "Hindu Fundamentalism" primarily in northern India, religious tensions have increased. This makes solving all of the above problems that much more difficult. There are over 33 million manifestations of God in Hinduism while Islam is strictly monotheistic. Hindus hold animals to be sacred, especially the cow, while Muslims dietary code forbids pork. Even though most Hindus today are

no longer vegetarian, they strictly honor the sacredness of cows. India is home to 25% of the WORLD'S cattle. Occasionally, a Muslim will kill a cow to arouse Hindu anger. Considering that some Hindu truck drivers have been killed by crowds when running over cows, one can imagine the response to a Muslim killing a cow intentionally. Nor is it unknown for a Hindu to toss a pig into a mosque during prayer.

Life is a meaningless cycle of birth and rebirth (samsara), determined by the impurity or purity of previous deeds (karma).Escaping samsara and improving karma are the goals of Hindus. For Muslims, submission to God and avoiding sin, are their goals. Clearly the fodder for religious tensions is ever present in India. Contrasting religious ideas and a history of conflict are likely to continue to trouble the peoples of India.

The lessons and readings which follow this report on India today, are designed to provide students with an opportunity to explore different dimensions of Indian politics and culture. There are three major lessons included. The first deals with the Kashmir and its problems. For India, this has been its leading international problem since

partition in 1947. The second lesson deals with the vast array of India's international problems. The third lesson concerns Indian democracy and lets the student make comparisons with American democracy.

Many geographic resources are included to help students understand the numerous geopolitical issues. Readings and statistical abstracts about Indian life, economics, population, education, history, religion, and other cultural aspects are included. A bibliography is included at the conclusion.

India today is truly living in different centuries at the same time. Solving India's political and social problems presents a great challenge to India. Since one in every six people alive on planet Earth today is Indian, understanding India and helping in the solution to problems, is important to all. India also has much to share with the rest of the world. Its cultural and technological achievements are great and can benefit all the peoples of the world.

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Please Note: Additional credit must be given to the entire U.S.E.F.I. lecture series and the people of India who spoke with this author.

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D.M. Nanjundappa
V. Devika
Bharatha Kalanjali
Andre Beteille
Pushpa Girimaji
P,J, Lavakare
O.P. Bhardwaj

- Inaugual Address
- Interdisciplinary Approach to Indian Creative Expressions
- Cultural Unity of India
- An introduction to visual arts followed by visit to National Museum
- Indian Educational system
- Indian literature will cover Epics of India
- British Raj & After
- Role of Media in India
- Role of Press in Indian democracy
- Social Justice in India
- Two panel discussions:
  - Multi Religious Society
  - Women & Developing India
- Relevant Social issues
- Curriculum sessions on teaching India
- Caste system
- Dance performance
- Crafts of India
- Economic policy & liberalization
- Environment & Art

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THE KASHMIR DISPUTE:
An Investigative Project

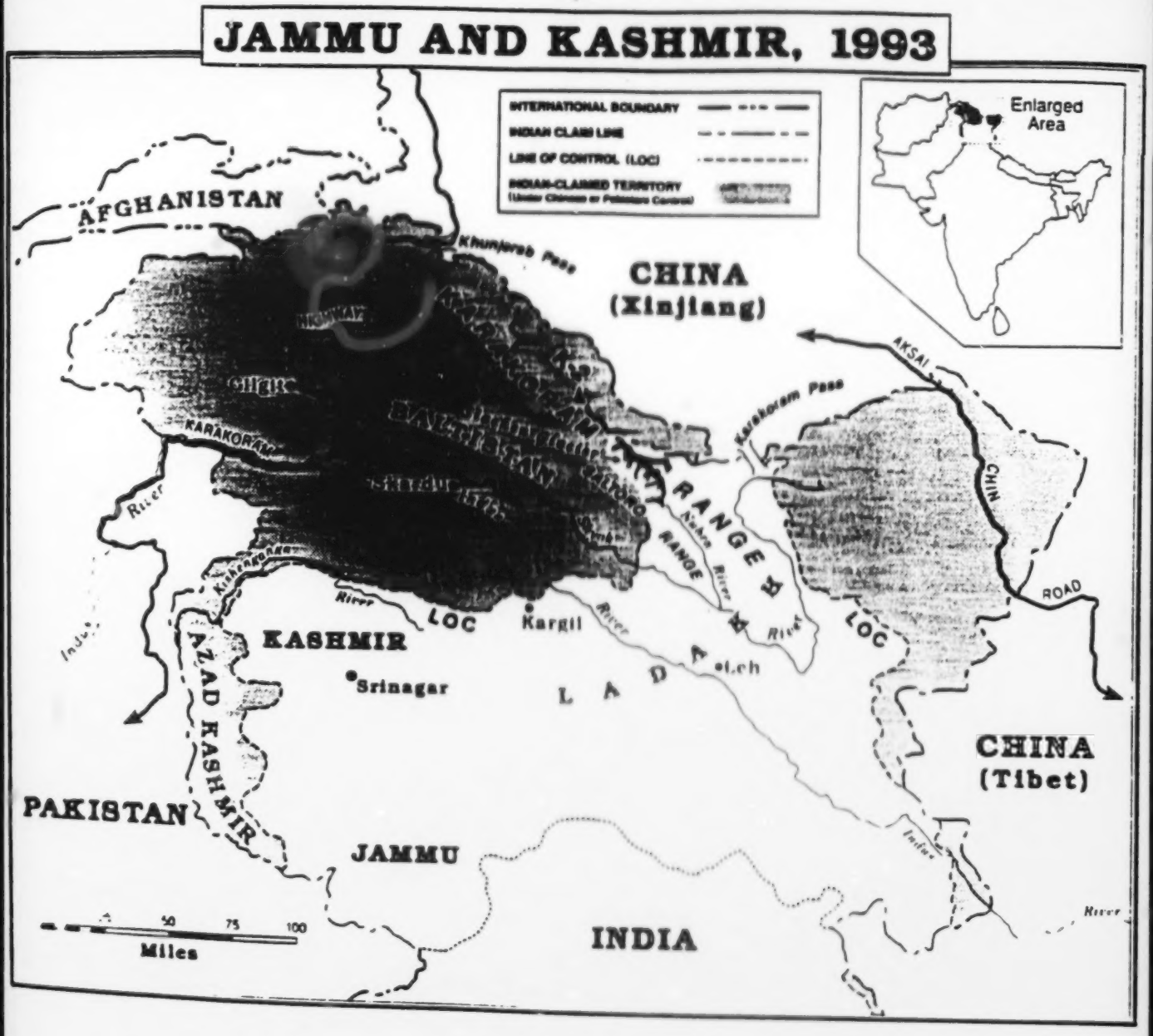
Ever since Great Britain left South Asia in 1947, Kashmir has been the focus of a most serious dispute. The countries of India and Pakistan have fought two major wars in 1948 and in 1965 largely over the issue of who controls Kashmir. Anti-Indian violence in Indian Kashmir broke out in 1990. Kashmir presents several problems simultaneously. It is a boundary problem, a separatist problem, and a settlement problem. Without a peaceful resolution to the Kashmir conflict it is unlikely that there will ever be a permanent peace between India and Pakistan.

To accomplish this research effectively without too much duplication of effort, the class will be divided into three parts. The first part will focus on the boundary issues affecting Jammu and Kashmir. The second part will deal with separatist issues including Muslim uprisings and Indian and Pakistani military operations in the region. The third part will deal with settlement problems. What efforts have already been made to solve the Kashmir problem and why have they been unsuccessful?

After the research is complete, the class will share its findings and try and agree upon a solution for the future. Be sure to use your maps and India background information in considering your research directions and final solutions. Good luck! After all, no one has solved this problem yet.

SOURCE: INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND THE KASHMIR DISPUTE
Robert G. Wirsing

Map 1



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Map 2

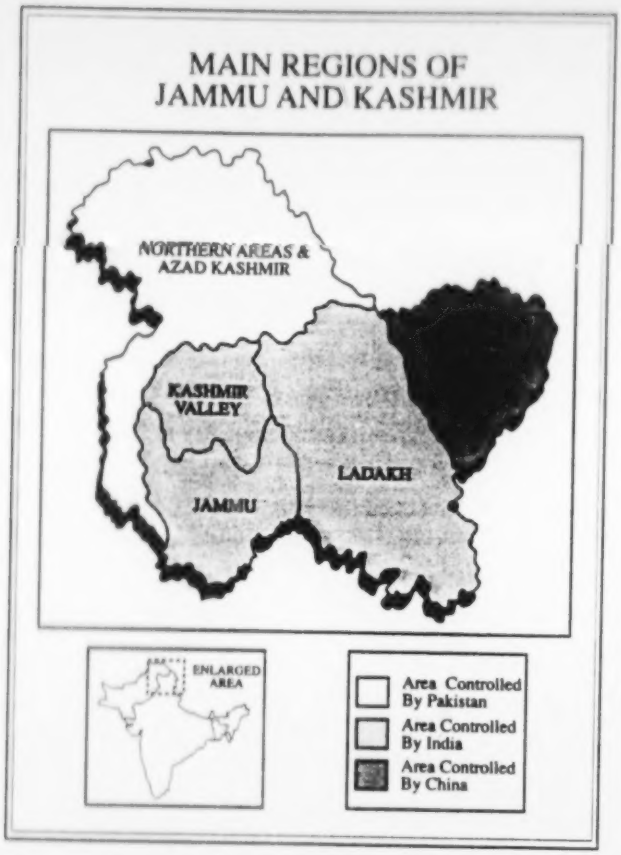

Table 4.1 Area, Population and Religion, J and K State (1981)

Region*	Area (sq/m)	Population	%Muslim	%Hindu	%Other
Kashmir Valley	8,639	3,134,904 (52.36%)	94.96	4.59	0.05
Jammu	12,378	2,718,113 (45.39%)	29.60	66.25	4.15
Ladakh	33,554†	134,372 (2.24%)	46.04	2.66	51.30‡
TOTALS:	**54,571**	**5,987,389**	**64.19**	**32.24**	**3.57**

Sources: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India; and *Census 1981*, Government of India.

*India's Jammu and Kashmir state contains 14 districts: Kashmir Valley has six (Anantnag, Badgam, Baramulla, Kupwara, Pulwama, Srinagar), Jammu also six (Doda, Jammu, Kathua, Poonch, Rajouri, Udhampur), and Ladakh two (Kargil, Leh).

†This figure includes areas of Ladakh (Aksai Chin) held by the Chinese.

‡Mainly Buddhist.

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Map 3

Map 4

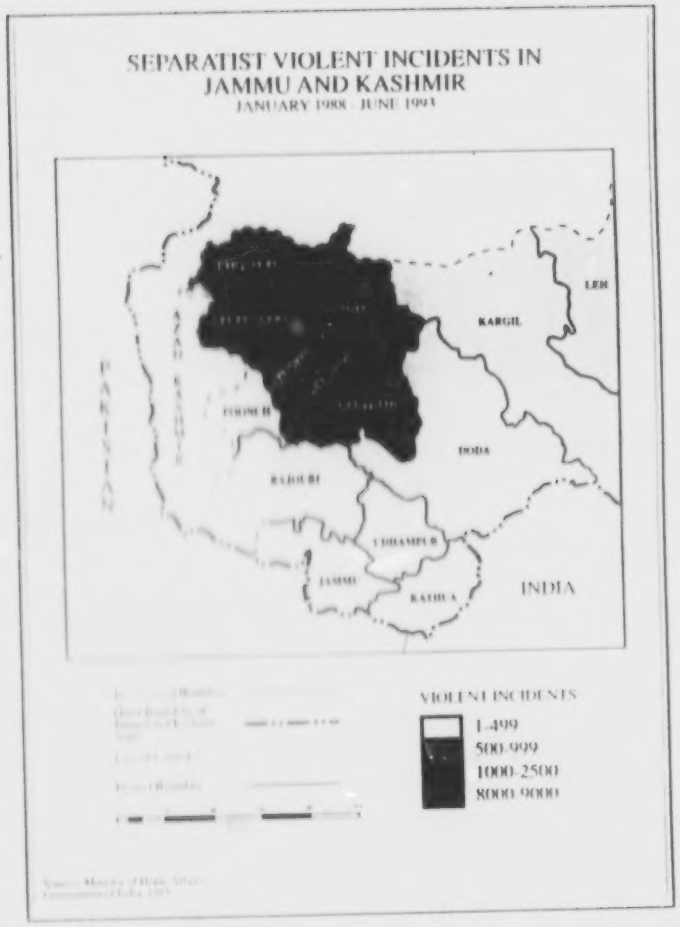

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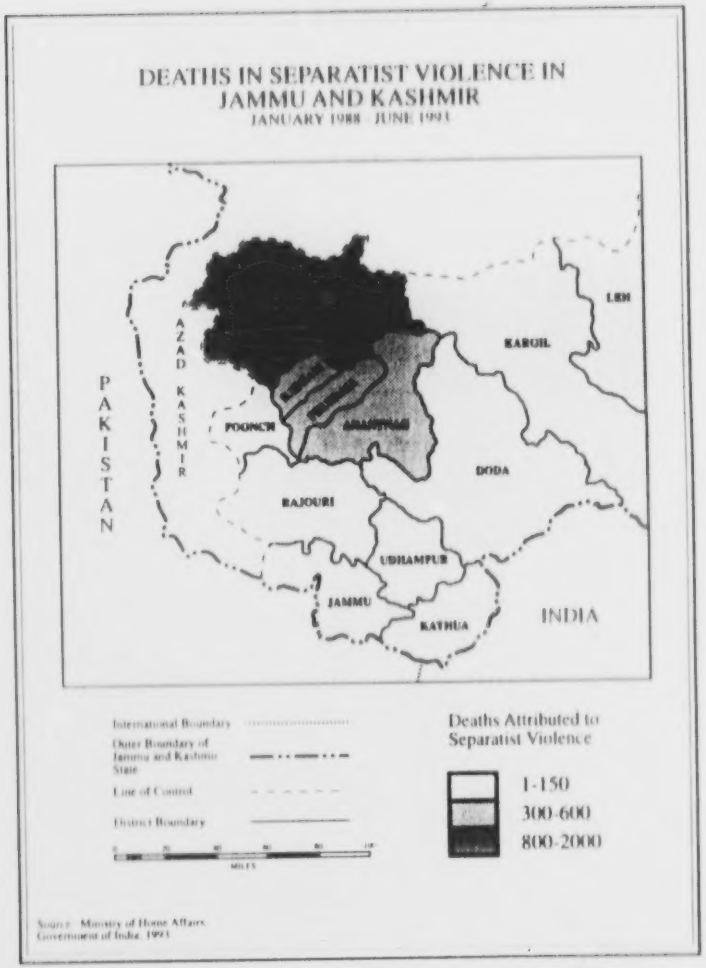
Table 4.5 Death Toll in Separatist Uprising, J and K State
(1 January 1988–31 May 1993)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993 (5/31)	TOTAL
Total killed	31	92	1,177	1,393	1,909	1,086	**5,688**
Security forces	1	13	132	185	177	87	**595**
Govt. officials	1	3	62	57	36	13	**172**
Politicians	-	3	24	10	4	10	**51**
Judges	-	3	1	1	-	-	**5**
Press/media	-	-	2	1	1	-	**4**

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Map 5



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Appendix A. Security Council resolutions and decisions on India–Pakistan in 1948

38 (1948). Resolution of 17 January 1948 (S/651)

The Security Council,

Having heard statements on the situation in Kashmir from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan,

Recognizing the urgency of the situation,

Taking note of the telegram addressed on 6 January 1948 by its President to each of the parties[1] and of their replies thereto,[2] in which they affirmed their intention to conform to the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation, and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation;

2. *Further requests* each of those Governments to inform the Council immediately of any material change in the situation which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon.

Adopted at the 229th meeting by 9 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Decision

At its 229th meeting, on 17 January 1948, the Council decided that the President should invite the representatives of India and Pakistan to take part in direct talks under his guidance in an effort to find some common ground on which the structure of a settlement might be built.

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year*, Nos 1–15, 226th meeting, pp. 4–5 (Document S/636).

[2] *Ibid., Third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1948*, Documents S/639 and S/640.

39 (1948). Resolution of 20 January 1948 (S/654)

The Security Council,

Considering that it may investigate any dispute or any situation which might, by its continuance, endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and that, in the existing state of affairs between India and Pakistan, such an investigation is a matter of urgency,

Adopts the following resolution:

A. A Commission of the Security Council is hereby established, composed of representatives of three Members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, one to be selected by Pakistan, and the third to be designated by the two so selected.

Each representative on the Commission shall be entitled to select his alternates and assistants.

B. The Commission shall proceed to the spot as quickly as possible. It shall act under the authority of the Security Council and in accordance with the direction it may receive from it. It shall keep the Security Council currently informed of its activities and of the development of the situation. It shall report to the Security Council regularly, submitting its conclusions and proposals.

C. The Commission is invested with a dual function:

(1) To investigate the facts pursuant to Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations;

(2) To exercise, without interrupting the work of the Security Council, any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties; to carry out the directions given to it by the Security Council; and to report how far the advice and directions, if any, of the Security Council have been carried out.

D. The Commission shall perform the functions described in Clause C: (1) In regard to the situation in the Jammu and Kashmir State set out in the letter of the representative of India addressed to the President of the Security Council, dated 1 January 1948,[1] and

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in the letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General, dated 15 January 1948;[2] and (2) In regard to other situations set out in the letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General, dated 15 January 1948, when the Security Council so directs.

E. The Commission shall take its decision by majority vote. It may allocate among its members, alternate members, their assistants, and its personnel such duties as may have to be fulfilled for the realization of its mission and the reaching of its conclusions.

F. The Commission, its members, alternate members, their assistants and its personnel shall be entitled to journey, separately or together, wherever the necessities of their tasks may require, and, in particular, within those territories which are the theatre of the events of which the Security Council is seized.

G. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall furnish the Commission with such personnel and assistance as it may consider necessary.

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[1] *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Supplement for November 1948*, document S/1100, annex 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, annex 6.

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47 (1948). Resolution of 21 April 1948 (S/726)

The Security Council,

Having considered the complaint of the Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir,

Having heard the representative of India in support of that complaint and the reply and counter-complaints of the representative of Pakistan,

Being strongly of the opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting,

Noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite,

Considering that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security,

Reaffirms its resolution 38 (1948) of 17 January 1948;

Resolves that the membership of the Commission established by its resolution 39 (1948) of 20 January 1948 shall be increased to five and shall include, in addition to the membership mentioned in that resolution, representatives of . . . and . . . , and that if the membership of the Commission has not been completed within ten days from the date of the adoption of this resolution the President of the Council may designate such other Member or Members of the United Nations as are required to complete the membership of five;

Instructs the Commission to proceed at once to the Indian subcontinent and there place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures, both with respect to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of a plebiscite, by the two Governments, acting in co-operation with one another and with the Commission, and further instructs the Commission to keep the Council informed of the action taken under the resolution; and, to this end,

Recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council are appropriate to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan:

A. *Restoration of peace and order*

1. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours:

(*a*) To secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting, and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State;

(*b*) To make known to all concerned that the measures indicated in this and the following paragraphs provide full freedom to all subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste, or party, to express their views and to vote on the question of the accession of the State, and that

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therefore they should co-operate in the maintenance of peace and order.

2. The Government of India should:

(*a*) When it is established to the satisfaction of the Commission set up in accordance with the Council's resolution 39 (1948) that the tribesmen are withdrawing and that arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective, put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order;

(*b*) Make known that the withdrawal is taking place in stages and announce the completion of each stage;

(*c*) When the Indian forces have been reduced to the minimum strength mentioned in (*a*) above, arrange in consultation with the Commission a plan for stationing of the remaining forces to be carried out in accordance with the following principles:

(i) That the presence of troops should not afford any intimidation or appearance of intimidation to the inhabitants of the State;

(ii) That as small a number as possible should be retained in forward areas;

(iii) That any reserve of troops which may be included in the total strength should be located within their present base area.

3. The Government of India should agree that until such time as the Plebiscite Administration referred to below finds it necessary to exercise the powers of direction and supervision over the State forces and police provided for in paragraph 8, they will be held in areas to be agreed upon with the Plebiscite Administrator.

4. After the plan referred to in paragraph 2 (a) above has been put into operation, personnel recruited locally in each district should so far as possible be utilized for the re-establishment and maintenance of law and order with due regard to protection of minorities, subject to such additional requirements as may be specified by the Plebiscite Administration in paragraph 7.

5. If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission, subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification.

B. *Plebiscite*

6. The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate responsible representatives to share equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the ministerial level while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7. The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

8. The Government of India should undertake that there will be delegated by the State to the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

9. The Government of India should, at the request of the Plebiscite Administration, make available from the Indian forces such assistance as the Plebiscite Administration may require for the performance of its functions.

10. (a) The Government of India should agree that a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be appointed to be the Plebiscite Administrator.

(*b*) The Plebiscite Administrator, acting as an officer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, should have authority to nominate his assistants and other subordinates and to draft regulations governing the plebiscite. Such nominees should be formally appointed and such draft regulations should be formally promulgated by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(*c*) The Government of India should undertake that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will appoint fully qualified persons nominated by the Plebiscite Administrator to act as special magistrates within the State judicial system to hear cases which in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator have a serious bearing on the preparation for and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite.

(*d*) The terms of service of the Administrator should form the subject of a separate negotiation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Government of India. The Administrator should fix the terms of service for his assistants and subordinates.

(*e*) The Administrator should have the right to communicate directly with the Government

of the State and with the Commission of the Security Council and, through the Commission, with the Security Council, with the Governments of India and Pakistan and with their representative with the Commission. It would be his duty to bring to the notice of any or all of the foregoing (as he in his discretion may decide) any circumstances arising which may tend, in his opinion, to interfere with the freedom of the plebiscite.

11. The Government of India should undertake to prevent, and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing, any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12. The Government of India should themselves and through the Government of the State declare and make known that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views, and in voting on the question of the accession of the State and that there will be freedom of the press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13. The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavours to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein or who on or since 15 August 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.

14. The Government of India should ensure that the Government of the State releases all political prisoners and take all possible steps so that:

(*a*) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of disturbances are invited, and are free, to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as such citizens;

(*b*) There is no victimization;

(*c*) Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection.

15. The Commission of the Security Council should at the end of the plebiscite certify to the Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been really free and impartial.

C. *General provisions*

16. The Governments of India and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate a representative to be attached to the Commission for such assistance as it may require in the performance of its task.

17. The Commission should establish in Jammu and Kashmir such observers as it may require of any of the proceedings in pursuance of the measures indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

18. The Security Council Commission should carry out the task assigned to it herein.

Adopted at the 286th meeting.[1]

The five members of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan were: Czechoslovakia (nominated by India on 10 February 1948); Belgium and Colombia (appointed by the Council on 23 April 1948; Argentina (nominated by Pakistan on 30 April 1948); United States of America (designated by the President of the Council on 7 May 1948, in the absence of agreement between Argentina and Czechoslovakia on the member to be designated by them).

Decision

At its 287th meeting, on 23 April 1948, the Council, pursuant to its resolution 47 (1948), appointed Belgium and Columbia as the additional members of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

Adopted by 7 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (Belgium, Colombia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

[1] The draft resolution was voted on paragraph by paragraph. No vote was taken on the text as a whole.

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Appendix B. Agreement on bilateral relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:-

(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each others internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;

(v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Indira Gandhi)
Prime Minister
Republic of India

(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto)
President
Islamic Republic
of Pakistan

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972

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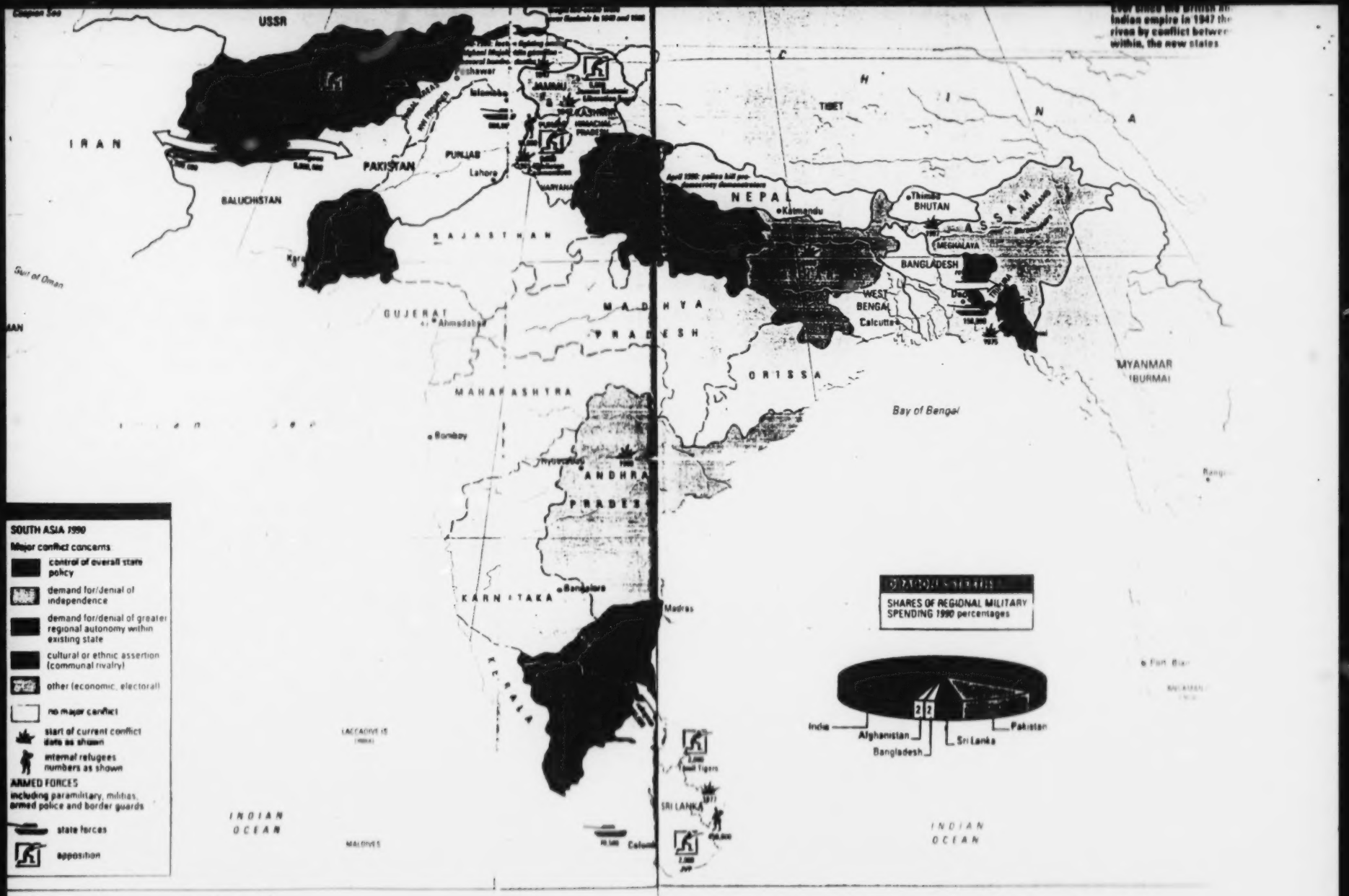
INDIA: DOMESTIC ORDER AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
A ROLE PLAYING ACTIVITY

In this activity half of you will either volunteer for or be assigned a role in the present Indian government. The remaining half of the class will play various adversarial roles which directly deal with India's domestic order, its borders, or its international relations. Those of you playing Prime Minister Rao or one of his cabinet members or advisors, wish to advocate (perhaps even achieve) domestic tranquility, complete borders including all disputed lands in the Kashmir region, and positive diplomatic relations with all of your neighbors. This is a tall task, indeed!

Those of you playing various adversarial roles wish to advocate (and perhaps even achieve) ends consistent with your personal, political, and religious objectives. These dialogues will occur in small meetings and groupings over two class periods. A huge conference will then be held comprising everyone in the class, and final statements will be made and conclusions drawn. If verbal discussions reach a formal agreement stage, then the agreement must be in writing. If discussions are either fruitful but inconclusive, or unfruitful, the outlines of your two days of discussion must be placed in writing.(Delegations can consist of as little as one person, depending on class size. There must be at least one Indian government representative to meet with each other role.)

Listing of Other Roles:

The Pakistani Delegation including Prime Minister Bhutto.
The Chinese Delegation.
The Bangladeshi Delegation.
The Sri Lankan Delegation.
One representative from Nepal.
One representative from Bhutan.
One representative from Afghanistan.
One representtive from the Military Government in Myanmar.
A dissatisfied Sikh living in the Punjab.
An outspoken member of the BJA- Hindu Fundamentalist Party.
A Muslim living just north of Srinagar in the Kashmir.
A Bangladeshi refugee in West Bengal.
A Burmese refugee living in the Northeast.



Kidron and Smith

The New State of War and Peace

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India Map Index

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Ahmadabad	23°02'N
Aijal	23°44'N
Ajanta Range	20°30'N
Aligarh	27°53'N
Allahabad	25°27'N
Amritsar	31°35'N
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Andaman And Nicobar Islands	10°00'N
Andaman Islands	12°00'N
Andhra Pradesh	16°00'N
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Calcutta	22°32'N
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Chilka Lake	19°46'N
Cochin	9°58'N
Coimbatore	11°00'N
Comorin, Cape	8°04'N
Cuttack	20°30'N
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	20°05'N
Daman	20°10'N
Deccan Plateau	14°00'N
Dehra Dun	30°19'N
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Delhi	28°37'N
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Ganges, Mouths of the	22°00'N
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Gaya	24°47'N
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Gorakhpur	26°45'N
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Jaipur	26°55'N
Jammu	32°42'N
Jammu and Kashmir	34°00'N
Jamnagar	22°28'N

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India Map Index

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Ahmadabad	23°02'N	72°37'E
Aijal	23°44'N	92°43'E
Ajanta Range	20°30'N	76°00'E
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Allahabad	25°27'N	81°51'E
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Andaman And Nicobar Islands	10°00'N	93°00'E
Andaman Islands	12°00'N	92°45'E
Andhra Pradesh	16°00'N	79°00'E
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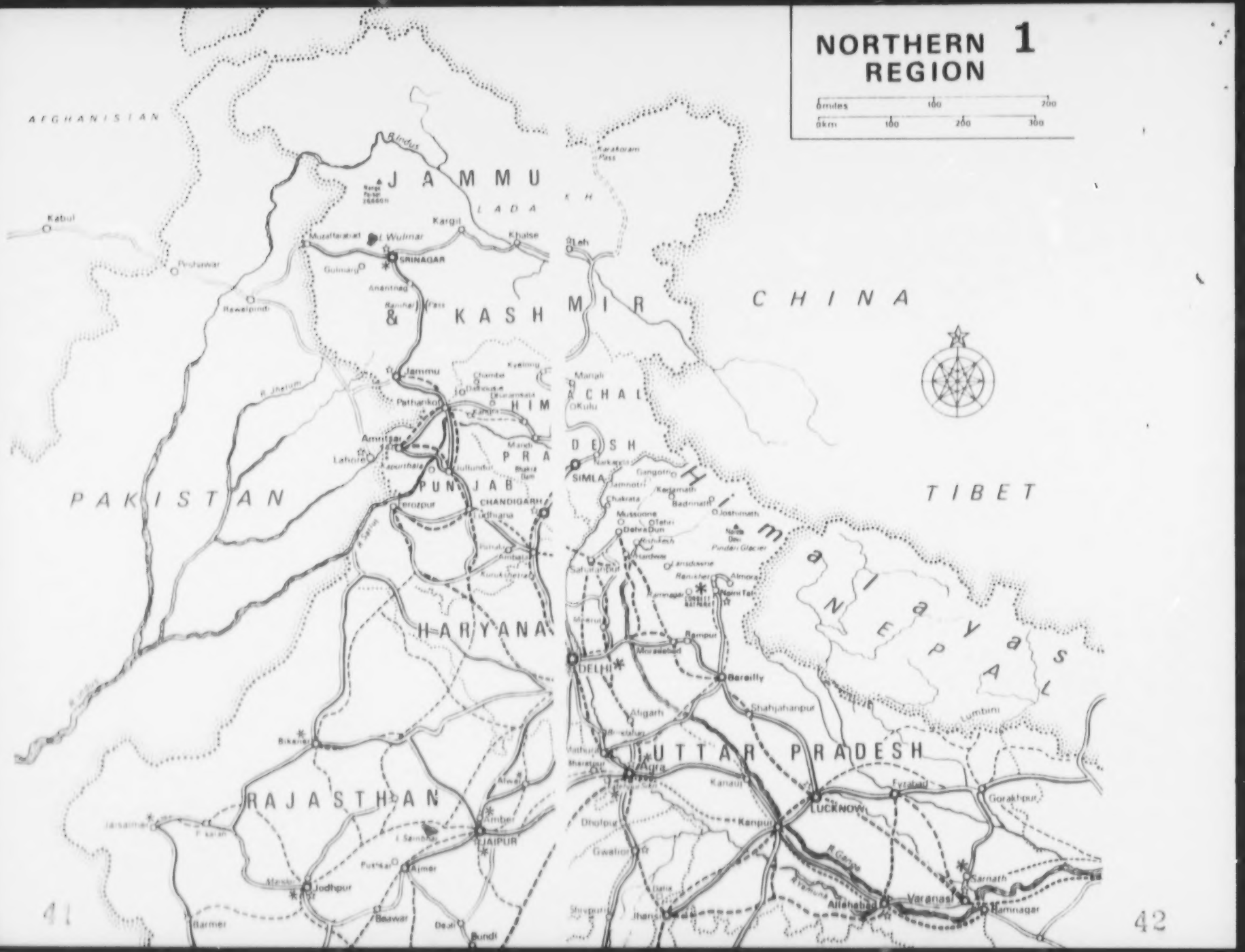
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Gwalior
R. Ganga
Allahabad
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Ramnagar
Bikaner
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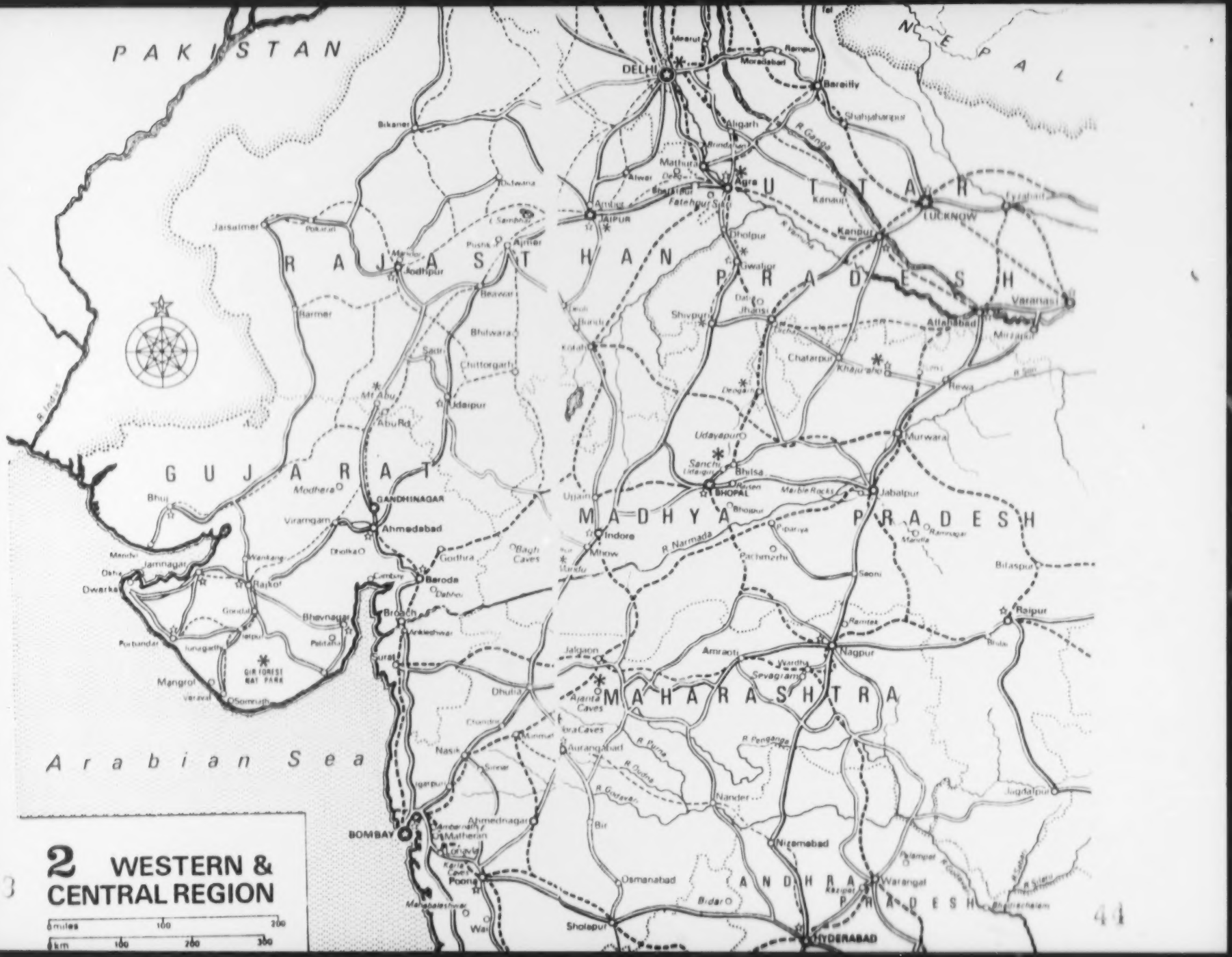
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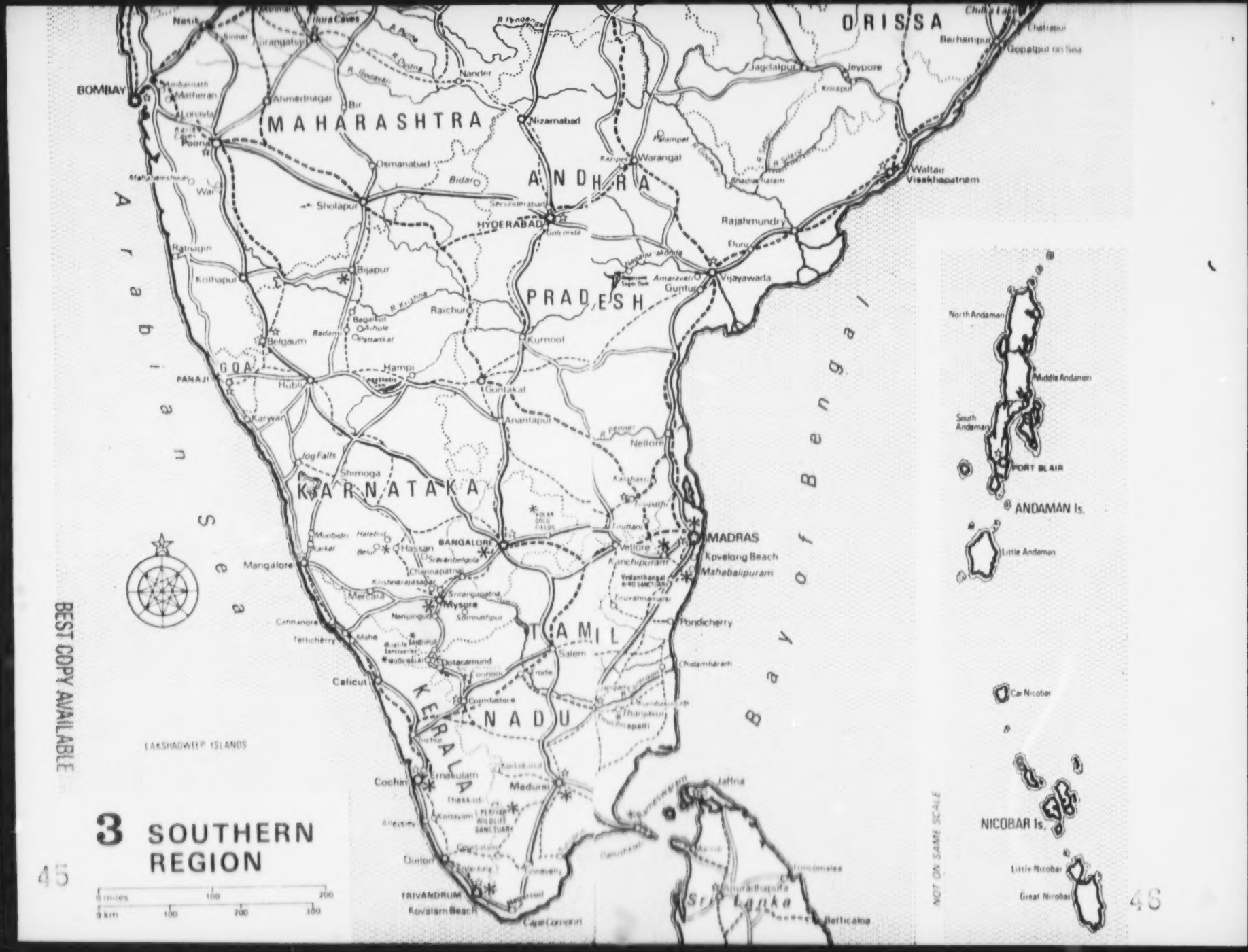
LUCKNOW
Allahabad
Varanasi
Mirzapur
Bikaner
Jaisalmer
Pokaran
Sambhar
Pushkar
Ajmer
JAIPUR
Alwar
Bharatpur
Dholpur
Kanpur
Gwalior
Jhansi
Shivpuri
Chhatarpur
Khajuraho
Rewa
Jodhpur
Barmer
Beawar
Bhilwara
Sanu
Chittorgarh
Mt. Abu
Udaipur
Abu Rd.
Udayapur
Murwara
Sanchi
Bhilsa
BHOPAL
Marble Rocks
Jabalpur
Bhopal
Indore
Mhow
R. Narmada
Pachmarhi
Seoni
Bilaspur
Raipur
Bhuj
Modhera
GANDHINAGAR
Viramgam
Ahmedabad
Mandvi
Jamnagar
Wankaner
Dholka
Godhra
Baroda
Dwarka
Rajkot
Gondal
Bhavnagar
Broach
Porbandar
Junagarh
Palitana
Surat
GIR FOREST NAT. PARK
Mangrol
Veraval
Somnath
Jalgaon
Amroti
Wardha
Sevagram
Nagpur
Ajanta Caves
Ellora Caves
Aurangabad
R. Purna
R. Penganga
R. Godavari
Dhulia
Nasik
Sinnar
Nander
Jagdalpur
Ahmednagar
BOMBAY
Matheran
Poona
Bir
Nizamabad
Osmanabad
Warangal
Bidar
Sholapur
HYDERABAD
Palampet
Kazipet
Bhadrachalam
Arabian Sea
GUJARAT
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
2 WESTERN & CENTRAL REGION
0 miles 100 200
0 km 100 200 300


ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
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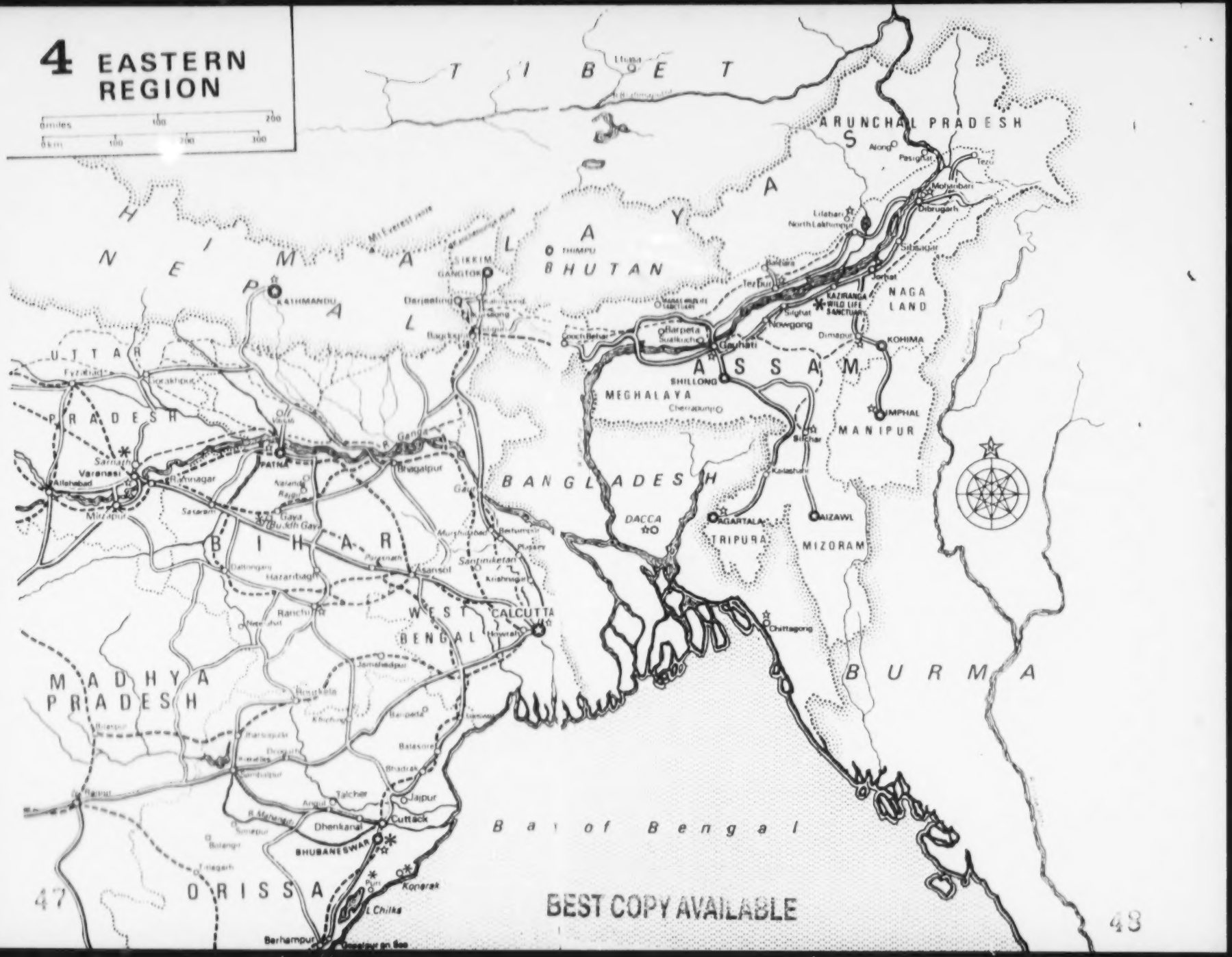
KARNATAKA
GOA
TAMIL NADU
KERALA
BOMBAY
HYDERABAD
MADRAS
BANGALORE
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
LAKSHADWEEP ISLANDS
ANDAMAN Is.
NICOBAR Is.
PORT BLAIR
North Andaman
Middle Andaman
South Andaman
Little Andaman
Car Nicobar
Little Nicobar
Great Nicobar
Sri Lanka
TRIVANDRUM
Kovalam Beach
Cochin
Calicut
Mangalore
Mysore
Pondicherry
Madurai
Jaffna
Batticaloa
Nasik
Aurangabad
Ahmednagar
Nizamabad
Warangal
Waltair
Visakhapatnam
Rajahmundry
Vijayawada
Guntur
Sholapur
Bijapur
Raichur
Kurnool
Belgaum
Hubli
Karwar
Hampi
Shimoga
Hassan
Vellore
Kanchipuram
Mahabalipuram
Kovelong Beach
Salem
Coimbatore
Ootacamund
Trivandrum
Ernakulam
Jagdalpur
Jeypore
Berhampur
Chilka Lake
Gopalpur on Sea
Nander
Osmanabad
Bidar
Latur
Kolhapur
Ratnagiri
Panaji
Jog Falls
Tellicherry
Cannanore
Nellore
Ananthapur
Guntakal
Tiruchirapalli
Thanjavur
Chidambaram
Pamban
Rameswaram
Talaimannar
Anuradhapura
Trincomalee
Ajanta Caves
Amaravati
Eluru
Bhadrachalam
Warangal
Karimnagar
Secunderabad
Aurangabad
Nasik
Sinnar
Matheran
Ambarnath
Lonavla
Poona
Mahabaleshwar
Wai
Ratnagiri
Kolhapur
Belgaum
Badami
Bagalkot
Ainole
Pattadkal
Gadag
Mysore
Srirangapatna
Krishnarajasagar
Channapatna
Mercara
Nanjangud
Somnathpur
Talakad
Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary
Periyar Wildlife Sanctuary
Kottayam
Alleppey
Quilon
Cape Comorin
Kovalam Beach
Cochin
Ernakulam
Trichur
Palghat
Calicut
Cannanore
Tellicherry
Mahe
Coimbatore
Erode
Salem
Ootacamund
Nilgiri Wildlife Sanctuary
Gudalur
Mudumalai Sanctuary
Bandipur
Sivasamudram
Talakad
Somnathpur
Nanjangud
Srirangapatna
Krishnarajasagar
Channapatna
Mercara
Cannanore
Tellicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Palghat
Trichur
Ernakulam
Cochin
Alleppey
Quilon
Trivandrum
Kovalam Beach
Cape Comorin
Kottayam
Periyar Wildlife Sanctuary


4 EASTERN REGION
miles 100 200
km 100 200 300
T I B E T
ARUNCHAL PRADESH
H I M A L A Y A S
N E P A L
BHUTAN
SIKKIM
GANGTOK
KATHMANDU
Darjeeling
NAGA LAND
KOHIMA
ASSAM
SHILLONG
MEGHALAYA
MANIPUR
IMPHAL
U T T A R P R A D E S H
PATNA
Varanasi
Allahabad
Mirzapur
Bhagalpur
BANGLADESH
DACCA
AGARTALA
TRIPURA
AIZAWL
MIZORAM
B I H A R
Gaya
Hazaribagh
Ranchi
Asansol
Santiniketan
CALCUTTA
WEST BENGAL
Chittagong
BURMA
M A D H Y A P R A D E S H
Jamshedpur
Jajpur
Cuttack
Dhenkanal
BHUBANESWAR
Puri
Konarak
Berhampur
O R I S S A
Bay of Bengal
47
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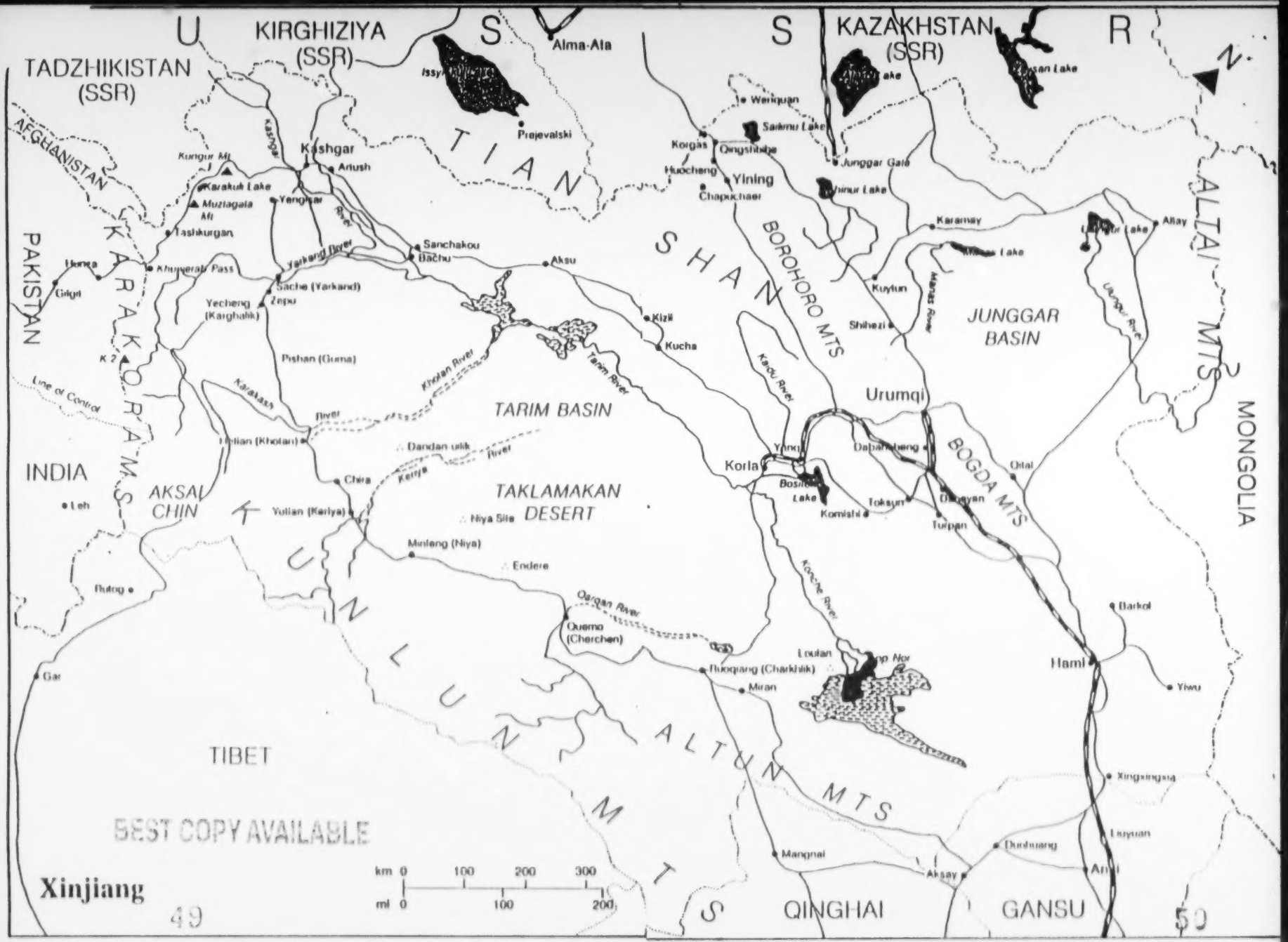
48



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DEFINING DEMOCRACY: INDIA, A CASE STUDY

There are many ways to define and describe a democracy. In this activity you will be provided with a variety of definitions and descriptions applicable to democracy. You will also be given the opportunity to provide your own definition. After selecting one or more definitions as acceptable, you will be asked to determine whether or not India is a democracy.

India has free and generally honest elections with mass participation. India also has thousands of persons in detention without being formally charged with a crime. Parts of India are under martial law. Some states, Bihar in particular, are mired in corruption. Are any of these conditions in India critical to determining the presence of a democracy?

Many political scientists have also suggested a variety of preconditions for a democracy to flourish in the world today. These will be listed below as well. Which does India have? Is the absence of any or several of these preconditions important to a determination of the presence of democracy in India? Remember, there is much room for opinion, but whatever position you take, it must be well supported with both evidence and clear reasoning.

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DEFINING DEMOCRACY: DEFINITIONAL APPLICATIONS

	INDIA	U.S.A.
Democracy is a condition which includes individual rights and human rights.		
In a democracy, people can challenge their government if it is oppressive or abusive.		
A democracy contains a representative government.		
A democracy can only exist with the consent of those governed.		
Official power can not be arbitrary or abusive.		
People have an active participation in decisions affecting their lives in a democracy.		
A democratic government is strong enough to protect its citizens' rights.		
A democracy has a constitution or written document guaranteeing its citizens' rights.		
A democracy treats all people equally.		
Economic freedom is guaranteed in a democracy.		
YOUR DEFINITION		
YOUR DEFINITION		

PRECONDITIONS FOR DEMOCRACY: SUGGESTIONS FOR YOU TO EVALUATE

	INDIA	U.S.A.
LITERACY		
URBANIZATION		
AN INVOLVED MIDDLE CLASS		
NATIONAL TRADITIONS		
AN INDEPENDENT INTELLIGENTSIA		
A SYSTEM OF TAXATION		
A MARKET ECONOMY		
PLURALISM		
JUSTIFIED AUTHORITY		
PURPOSEFUL AUTHORITY		
INTRINSIC SOURCE OF DEMOCRACY SUCH AS THE PEOPLE		

	INDIA	U.S.A.
IMPORTANCE OF A CONSTITUTION		
IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS		
DENIAL OF PRIVILEGE TO ANY SPECIFIC GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL		
PEACE		

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SOURCE: REINVENTING REVOLUTION
Gail Omvedt

Glossary

adivasi: "original inhabitant," used for "tribals" inhabiting the hillier and more forested areas who were traditionally shifting cultivators and hunter-gatherers, sometimes settled peasants.

bahujan: "majority people," used in movements of the shudra castes.

bai, ben: "woman," lower-class term; often added to names.

Bali Raja: "King Bali," fabled peasant king considered as a *rakshasa* or "demon" in brahmanic mythology.

bandh: "close," "stop," term for a civic strike that seeks to close all offices, factories, shops, transportation, etc.

bania: see *vaishya*.

Bharat, bharatiya: "India, Indian," traditional name deriving from a mythical early king; thus the *Mahabharat* or "Great India" refers to the famous epic.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP): major Hindu-nationalist party in India, successor to the earlier Bharatiya Jan Sangh, which had merged in the Janata party in 1976–79.

brahman: highest of the traditional four varnas, with duties of worshipping gods and performing intellectual work; from earliest times they were also administrators and landholders.

caste system: traditional hierarchical kinship-economic system of South Asia, characterized by a multitude of *jatis* arranged in the fourfold *varna* system; both these terms are normally translated as "caste."

Communist Party of India or CPI: name of both the original party and its more pro-Moscow, moderate offshoot after the 1964 split.

Communist Party of India (Marxist) or CPI(M): name of the more militant or "left" of the two offshoots of the original CPI; strongholds in Kerala and West Bengal where it has been the governing party since 1977.

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Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) or CPI(ML): name for the party formed in 1969 after Maoist activists in the CPI(M) broke away following a 1967 peasant revolt in Naxalbari, now existing in many fragments; its members and others who broke away but never joined the official CPI(ML) are also known as "Naxalites."

dalit: "downtrodden," militant term preferred by ex-untouchables; major dalit castes are mahars (Maharashtra), malas (Andhra), holeyas (Karnataka), vankars (Gujarat), paraiyans (Tamilnadu), chamars, (north India), all functionally equivalent as the major labor-providing castes of their regions, and mangs or matangs (Maharashtra), madigas (Andhra and Karnataka); chuhras (Northwest India)—also functioning equivalent and usually historically at odds with the first group.

Ekalavya: tribal boy in the Mahabharata, identified with the Bhil community of western India.

gherao: "surround," term for militant workers' action.

harijan: "child of god," name chosen by Gandhi for untouchables.

jati: "caste," the group with a traditional occupation and ranking; intermarriage and interdining were usually limited to subgroups of these, but the jati as a whole was the named social unit.

kapu: cultivating caste of Andhra, now striving for recognition as "backward caste" separate from reddis.

kisan: Hindi term for "peasant."

koeri: cultivating caste of Bihar, specializing in garden crops.

ksatriya: second highest of traditional four varnas, those classified as warriors.

kurmi: main cultivating caste of Bihar, eastern U.P. and Madhya Pradesh, identified with kunbis.

kunbi: cultivating caste of Maharashtra, same as maratha; the whole group has internal hierarchies but no clear dividing line in most regions and makes up about one-third of the state's population; the Gujarati equivalent was known as *kanbi*.

Mahabharata: India's longest epic, dealing with the period of transition from tribal-lineage to state-caste society, centering around the war of the related clans of Kauras and Pandavas.

mahato: a semitribal peasant caste-group of south Bihar, for some time classed as kurmi.

mali: cultivating caste of Maharashtra, specializing in garden crops.

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maratha: prestigious term for the main cultivating caste of Maharashtra, emphasizing the warrior aspect of the tradition.

mazdur, mazur: term for "laborer" in most Sanskrit-derived languages.

melava: "gathering" or rally.

mukti: "liberation," as in "women's liberation" or *stri-mukti*.

naxalite: see "*CPI(ML)*."

OBC or "Other Backward Class": otherwise called "backward caste," a term of bureaucratic and constitutional derivation for the low-middle, mainly shudra castes.

okkaligas: cultivating caste of Karnataka, similar to kunbis and others.

panchayat: literally "the five"; traditionally a political and judicial gathering of caste/clan elders, now used also for popular mass meetings at which collective decisions are taken.

patidar: originally meant "shareholder" (in land), used for dominant families of kanbi castes; now applied to whole group of dominant cultivators of Gujarat, about 12 percent of the population.

raja: "king."

raj, rajya: kingdom, regime, land.

rajput: a high caste, traditionally landholders and warriors and the only current caste clearly admitted to be *ksatriya*.

Ramayana: India's famous epic, centering around the divine king Rama and his fight with the demon-king Ravana for abduction of his wife Sita.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh or RSS: "National Volunteers' Organization," right-wing Hindu nationalist cadre organization, functioning as a core group with activists working in many fronts, from student, worker, peasant and cultural organizations to political organizations such as the Bharatiya Janata party.

rasta roko, rail roko: "block the roads, block the rails," a militant protest campaign.

rayat or ryot: Persian-derived word for "peasant," used still in many south Indian languages.

reddi: originally term for headmen or leading families among kapus or cultivating caste of Andhra, now considered a separate caste.

sammelan: "gathering," usually of more than one day.

sangarsh: "struggle."

VAILABLE

satyagraha: "exertion for truth," term used by Gandhi for a nonviolent but illegal campaign.

scheduled caste: legal/constitutional term for ex-untouchables.

scheduled tribe: legal/constitutional term for tribals or adivasis.

Shambuk: dalit boy in Ramayana, killed by Rama for the "sin" of trying to gain yogic powers reserved for upper castes.

shetkari: "peasant" (Marathi).

shudra: lowest of the traditional four varnas, who had the duty of serving the others.

stri: "woman," a somewhat upper-class term.

swaraj: "self-rule."

thakur: another word for Rajput in North India.

thozilali or thozilar: "laborer" (Dravidian).

vaishya: third highest of the traditional four varnas, merchants, and businessmen, known more colloquially as banias.

varna: one of the four categories comprising the traditional caste system.

varnashramadharma: the religion of maintaining the traditional caste system and the four stages of life.

vyavasaya: "peasant" (Tamil).

yadav: herding caste found in many states, especially Bihar and U.P.

yatra: "march" or "campaign," a common organizing technique in which activists organize a caravan through villages (or city wards), originally by foot as *padyatra* but normally now using vehicles.

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Table 2 Percentage of Hindus and Muslims in total population and urban population of India 1961-81

	Percentage of total population						Percentage of urban population					
	1961		1971		1981		1961		1971		1981	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
India [a]	83.4	10.7	82.7	11.2	82.6	11.3	76.4	16.1	72.2	16.2	76.5	16.3
Andhra Pradesh	88.4	7.5	87.6	8.1	88.7	8.5	75.8	19.4	75.3	19.8	2.2	19.1
Assam [b]	66.4	23.3	72.5	24.6	—	—	78.7	12.5	86.5	11.2	—	—
Bihar	84.7	12.5	83.4	13.5	83.0	14.1	79.1	17.6	78.8	17.5	79.7	17.2
Gujarat	89.0	8.4	89.3	8.4	89.5	8.5	77.3	17.0	78.5	16.2	80.3	15.5
Haryana	—	—	89.2	4.0	89.3	4.0	—	—	91.1	0.8	91.4	1.4
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	96.1	1.4	95.7	1.6	—	—	87.2	2.1	88.9	2.8
Jammu & Kashmir	28.4	68.3	30.4	65.8	32.2	64.2	33.2	62.4	34.7	30.5	33.2	62.2
Karnataka [c]	87.3	9.9	86.5	10.6	85.9	11.0	75.0	19.2	73.4	21.0	73.9	20.5
Kerala	60.8	17.9	59.4	19.5	58.1	21.2	59.6	20.6	58.2	22.0	58.2	22.0
Madhya Pradesh	94.0	4.1	93.6	4.4	93.0	4.8	78.9	15.3	79.2	14.9	80.5	14.1
Maharashtra	82.2	7.7	81.9	8.4	81.4	9.2	72.2	15.0	71.2	15.9	71.2	16.1
Manipur	—	—	50.9	6.6	60.0	7.0	—	—	85.1	1.4	78.9	6.1
Meghalaya	—	—	18.5	2.6	18.0	3.1	—	—	48.3	2.7	41.1	2.9
Nagaland	—	—	11.4	0.6	14.3	1.5	—	—	54.9	3.9	36.7	3.3
Orissa	97.6	1.2	96.2	1.5	95.4	1.6	89.5	7.2	90.9	5.4	91.6	5.1
Punjab [d]	63.7	1.9	37.5	0.8	36.9	1.0	76.2	1.1	66.4	1.3	64.1	1.3
Rajasthan	90.0	6.5	89.6	6.9	89.3	7.3	77.5	15.8	76.8	16.5	78.2	16.2
Sikkim	—	—	68.6	0.2	67.4	0.9	—	—	65.0	1.02	64.7	3.9
Tamil Nadu [e]	89.9	4.6	89.0	5.1	88.9	5.2	83.2	10.0	82.8	10.1	83.0	9.9
Tripura	—	—	89.6	6.7	89.3	6.7	—	—	96.3	3.1	96.5	2.6
Uttar Pradesh	84.7	14.6	83.8	15.5	83.3	15.9	68.0	29.2	67.9	29.5	69.6	28.5
West Bengal	78.8	20.0	71.3	20.4	77.0	21.5	86.5	11.5	87.2	11.3	86.2	12.2

Sources and notes : As for Table 1.

Table 1 Total population of Hindus and Muslims in different states and their urban areas 1961–81 (in '000)

	Total population						Urban population					
	1961		1971		1981		1961		1971		1981	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
India [a]	366,527	46,941	453,437	61,418	541,779	75,512	60,336	12,698	83,195	17,685	120,653	25,678
Andhra Pradesh	31,814	2,715	38,791	3,520	47,526	4,534	4,759	1,219	6,328	1,667	9,623	2,393
Assam [b]	7,885	2,766	9,490	3,592	—	—	719	114	1,115	145	—	—
Bihar	39,346	5,786	42,589	7,594	58,011	9,875	3,095	691	4,442	986	6,953	1,504
Gujarat	18,356	1,745	17,949	2,249	30,519	2,908	4,108	905	5,887	1,218	8,512	1,647
Haryana [c]	—	—	7,341	405	11,548	524	—	—	1,615	16	2,586	40
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	3,113	50	4,100	70	—	—	211	6	290	9
Jammu & Kashmir	1,013	2,432	1,404	3,040	1,930	3,843	197	370	298	519	420	784
Kerala	10,283	3,028	12,683	4,163	14,801	5,410	1,521	527	2,018	765	2,779	1,048
Karnataka [d]	20,583	2,328	25,332	3,113	31,907	4,105	3,952	1,014	5,227	1,496	7,936	2,198
Madhya Pradesh	30,426	1,318	39,024	1,816	48,505	2,502	3,649	708	5,372	1,009	8,520	1,496
Maharashtra	32,531	3,034	41,307	4,233	51,109	5,806	8,064	1,671	11,195	2,497	15,675	3,552
Manipur	—	—	633	71	853	99	—	—	120	2	296	23
Meghalaya	—	—	187	26	241	41	—	—	71	4	99	7
Nagaland	—	—	59	3	111	12	—	—	28	2	44	5
Orissa	17,123	215	21,121	327	25,162	422	994	81	1,678	100	2,849	159
Punjab	12,930	393	5,087	114	6,200	168	3,117	45	2,135	42	2,982	60
Rajasthan	18,133	1,315	23,094	1,778	30,604	2,492	2,543	518	3,489	757	5,639	1,169
Sikkim	—	—	145	*	213	3	—	—	13	*	33	2
Tamil Nadu [e]	30,297	1,559	36,674	2,104	43,017	2,520	7,485	900	10,323	1,256	13,246	1,579
Tripura	—	—	1,394	104	1,834	139	—	—	157	5	218	6
Uttar Pradesh	62,437	10,788	73,998	13,677	92,366	17,658	6,451	2,765	8,408	3,657	13,856	5,667
West Bengal	27,523	6,985	31,612	9,064	42,007	11,743	7,388	986	9,564	1,243	12,458	1,768

* Less than a thousand

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SOURCE: ANATOMY OF A CONFRONTATION
SARVEPALLI GOPAL

Chronology

1528 The Babri Masjid built by Mir Baqi, a nobleman of Babur's court.

1855 The Hanumangarhi episode. Hindu–Muslim conflict as a consequence of an attempt by Muslims under the leadership of Shah Gulam Hussain to oust the Hindu Bairagis from the Hanumangarhi temple on the grounds that the temple had supplanted the mosque. The Muslims were defeated. The dispute was not over the Babri Masjid.

1857 Soon after the Revolt, the Mahant of Hanumangarhi takes over a part of the Babri Masjid compound and constructs a *chabutra*.

30 November: Maulvi Muhammad Asghar of the Masjid submits a petition to the magistrate complaining that the Bairagis have built a *chabutra* close to the mosque. (Similar complaints are made in 1860, 1877, 1883 and 1884.)

1859 The British Government erects a fence to separate the places of worship of the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus are to enter from the East gate and the Muslims from the North.

1885

29 January: The Mahant files a suit to gain legal title to the land in the mosque and for permission to construct a temple on the *chabutra*.

24 December: The Mahant's suit and appeals are dismissed. His claim for the proprietorship of the land in the compound of the Masjid is also dismissed by the Judicial Commissioner.

1886

25 May: The Mahant appeals again to the highest court in the province.

1 November: The Judicial Commissioner dismisses the Mahant's appeal again.

1936 An inquiry conducted by the then Commissioner of Waqfs under the UP Muslims Waqf Act, and it is held that the Babri Masjid was built by Babur who was a Sunni Muslim.

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1949

22–23 December 1949 : In the night an idol of Rama was installed by the Hindus inside the mosque. The Government proclaims the premises as disputed area and locks the gates.

1950

16 January: A suit is filed by Gopal Singh Visharad in the Court of the Civil Judge, Faizabad, praying for a declaration that he is entitled to worship in the Ramjanmabhumi.

24 April: The District Collector of Faizabad, J.N. Ugra, files a statement in court that the property in suit has been in use as a mosque and not as a temple.

1951

3 March: The Civil Judge orders that the idols should remain. The High Court confirms this order on 26 April 1955.

1961

18 December: The first civil suit by Muslims is filed by the Sunni Central Waqf Board for the delivery of the possession of the mosque by the removal of the idols and other articles of Hindu worship.

1984

7 and 8 April: The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) sponsored Dharma Sansad in a session at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi gives a call to liberate the Ramjanmabhumi.

To create national awareness in support of the liberation of the Bhumi the VHP organizes a *rath-yatra* of Sri Rama Janaki Virajman on a motorized chariot from Bihar on 25 Sept 1984 to reach Ayodhya on 6 October 1984. But Indira Gandhi's assassination later that month leads to a suspension of the *yatra*.

1986 Umesh Chandra Pandey files an application in the court of the munsif seeking the removal of the restrictions on the puja. The application is turned down.

1 February: K.M. Pandey, District Judge, Faizabad, orders the opening of the locks to the Hindus for worship. The Muslim community is not allowed to offer any prayers.

March : The Babri Masjid Action Committee (BMAC) is formed. This is followed by a countrywide Muslim 'mourning'.

12 May: The Sunni Central Waqf Board files a writ petition against the District Judge's order.

1987

11 December: The State of Uttar Pradesh applies to the Allahabad High Court that the hearing of the two writ petitions be deferred and the four civil suits be withdrawn from the court of munsif sadar and tried by the High Court.

March: At New Delhi's Boat Club three lakh Muslims gather to demand handing over the Babri Masjid.

April: The Hindus gather at Ayodhya to pledge the liberation of the shrine.

1988

December: The Babri Masjid Action Committee splits to form Babri Masjid Movement and the BMAC.

1989

November: The Shilanyas is held at Ayodhya on 9 November and the foundation of the temple is laid the next day. The plinth is dug 192 feet away from the mosque.

On 11 November the VHP leaders declare that the construction of the temple is being deferred and it would be decided in January 1990.

December: A coalition of the Janata Dal, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Communist Party of India forms the Government at the Centre after the general elections.

1990

15 February: The new government constitutes a committee to talk to the various groups and find an amicable solution.

October: A *rath-yatra*, from Somnath to Ayodhya led by the BJP leaders starts.

The BJP withdraws support to the Janata Dal Government.

In the Shilanyas procession and the *kar seva* on 30 October performed amidst tight security, several people are killed and injured in the police action.

November: The BJP and the VHP decide to resume the *kar seva* on 6 December.

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Riot Scars Are Gone, but Bombay Is Still Healing

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

BOMBAY, India — A year after Bombay's most serious riots in decades, much that meets the eye suggests that life has returned to normal after Hindu-Muslim riots and serial bomb explosions rocked the city.

Factories are working full tilt, and luxury hotels along the Arabian Sea are full. Tourists are back, along with foreign executives exploring India's newly relaxed investment laws. Many who are in a position to prosper from the turnaround, especially the Hindus who predominate among the city's 12.5 million people, say that Bombay has once again become India's most confident, outward-looking metropolis.

"Life goes on, and why not?" said H. L. Deshmani, a pharmaceutical executive waiting to place a bet at the Mahalakshmi race course, where thousands gathered recently in their flowing saris and tailored cotton suits for the Poonawalla Breeders' Million, India's richest horse race.

"We had trouble here for three months, just three months," said Mr. Deshmani, a Hindu, before hurrying back to his grandstand seat. "It was a brief thing, just a few extremists stirring trouble."

Shahzad Alam/Dirk Pleiure Library for The New York Times

A year after Bombay's worst riots in decades, life has returned to normal at the city's markets, like this one in front of the train station. "It was a brief thing," one businessman said. "Just a few extremists stirring trouble."

Bomb Damage Repaired

On the surface, at least, the recovery has been striking.

Few physical scars remain from the upheavals. At least 1,100 people were killed, most of them Muslims, in two outbursts of Hindu-Muslim rioting in December 1992 and January 1993. And in a three-hour period on March 12, 1993, 13 bombs, reportedly set by leaders of the city's Muslim underworld, killed more than 260 people and left more than 700 others injured.

Blasted, fire-scarred masonry has all but disappeared from the downtown area where the bombs struck and from the poorer districts that were at the heart of the riots. The Bombay rioting occurred after a Hindu mob destroyed an ancient mosque at Ayodhya in northern India on Dec. 6, 1992. The mosque was built on a site that is also holy to Hindus.

While the riot and bomb damage has been repaired, many skeptics say the bitterness and fear that were sown have receded little, if at all, among those most affected, the city's 1.5 million Muslims.

"This city is still simmering, don't let anybody tell you anything else," said Alyque Padamsee, an advertising executive who is best known for his theatrical career, especially for his role of a Muslim leader in the film "Gandhi." Others among the city's business leaders play down the after-effects of the upheavals.

'Things of the Past'

"The day the blasts occurred, the city was in shock," Harsh Goenka, a member of one of the city's richest families, told The Telegraph, a Calcutta newspaper, in a section devoted to the anniversary of the explosions. "Today, if you ask me, I'll say, 'What blast? Which blast?' Blasts and communal riots are things of the past."

While the city's leaders emphasize Bombay's thrusting commercialism, not the enmities born of the upheavals, others say that too little has been done since the riots to calm Muslims' fears that the Hindu gangs could strike again.

So far, the Bombay authorities have focused on rounding up those held responsible for the bombings, mostly Muslims.

Allegations of a Wider Plot

A special courtroom is being constructed in the city's central jail for the trial of 195 people charged in the bomb blasts. The proceedings are expected to take months. The Government's case suggests that the bomb blasts had their origins in a Muslim community where loyalties are divided between India and Pakistan.

In nearly 10,000 pages of evidence, prosecutors have said that Pakistan, through its military intelligence wing, helped to plan the bomb explosions, recruited underworld figures to plant the explosives and arranged for smuggling operations across the Arabian Sea that brought nearly four tons of explosives and an armory of weapons into Bombay.

The indictment asserts that the bombings were part of a wider conspiracy to "wage war on the Indian state" and that the conspirators sought to achieve this by inflaming religious animosities between Hindus and Muslims. Police investigators have said that the man identified as having led the conspiracy in Bombay, Dawood Ibrahim, long considered the most powerful figure in the city's Muslim underworld, fled Bombay for Dubai, a Muslim emirate in the Persian Gulf, hours before the succession of car bombs exploded.

Critics of the Bombay authorities have little quarrel with the police version of the bombings, although they say that the evidence of direct involvement by Pakistan seems shaky. But they make a point of what they say is a telling contrast between the effort made to prosecute those responsible for the bombings, mostly Muslims, and the failure to go after the militants behind the riots, who are Hindus.

> Amid the signs of well being, calls to join hands.

Not only Muslims but many Hindus say that there was never any doubt about the identity of those who provoked and led the rioting: an extremist Hindu group, the Shiv Sena, and its leader, Bal Thackeray, who is said to have at least 30,000 armed followers in Bombay.

Hearings May Take Years

Eyewitness accounts, as well as scores of formal complaints entered at police stations, named Shiv Sena activists as having led the mobs that set on unarmed Muslims, hacking or burning them to death, and firebombing Muslim homes and businesses. Similar accounts were given before an inquiry held by the Indian People's Commission on Human Rights, a private group that issued a report blaming Shiv Sena for the rioting.

So far, no one named in the complaints, or in testimony before the inquiry, has been charged. Instead, the issue has been deferred by the establishment of a judicial inquiry into the riots, under a Hindu judge. Lawyers who have appeared before the hearing say that they could continue for years, making effective prosecutions unlikely.

Kalpana Sharma, a reporter for The Hindu, one of the country's most influential newspapers, said the failure to prosecute those responsible for the riots had struck a chill in Muslim communities. Ms. Sharma, a Hindu, said that many Muslims had fled mixed Hindu-Muslim communities after the riots for poorer districts that were predominantly Muslim, and the "ghettoization" was unlikely to be reversed.

"I think what has really frightened a lot of people is that the Government has done nothing to tackle Shiv Sena," Ms. Sharma said. "This is a city that really wants to get back to work and put all of this behind it, but the wounds are still very deep. Muslims are very wary, and they'll remain so, until they see that justice is evenhanded."

A Smile and a Denial

For his part, Mr. Thackeray appears confident that no action will be taken against him or his organization. In an interview at his bungalow in Bombay's northern suburbs, where he is protected by a heavily armed bodyguard of Bombay police, Mr. Thackeray smiled when he was asked if he provoked and organized the attacks on Muslims, as the inquiry asserts.

"Why should I? There is no truth in it," he said.

His denial ran counter to volumes of evidence taken at the inquiry by the rights group, which was conducted by two retired judges, one a Hindu and the other a Muslim.

The judges' conclusion, confirming accounts by many of India's leading newspapers, was that Mr. Thackeray and Shiv Sena provoked the rioting with inflammatory attacks on Muslims in the Shiv Sena newspaper, Saamna. With passions roused, the judges said, Shiv Sena militants combined with sympathizers within the Bombay police to orchestrate the attacks, using voters' lists and business registers to pick out Muslim homes and businesses.

Shiv Sena's influence in the police is said to be only one aspect of its power in Bombay, which also extends to control of key labor unions, Mafia-like protection rackets, and, according to the judges' report, influence over powerful industrialists and politicians. In a remark that he asked be kept off the record, one of the city's leading businessmen described Mr. Thackeray as more powerful than Sharad Pawar, the chief minister of Maharashtra state, of which Bombay is the capital.

"They say that Pawar made a deal: Thackeray can run Bombay, and Pawar will handle the rest of Maharashtra," the businessman said.

'There Will Be a Flare-Up'

This, too, brought a smile from Mr. Thackeray. First, he described Shiv Sena as "more of a social organization" than anything else, running ambulance services, nursing homes and other charities, and with no ambitions to political power. But later, he hinted at what many in Bombay say is the real reason why no action has been taken against Mr. Thackeray or Shiv Sena, the fear that it would spark a new round of rioting.

"I have created enemies. I am on a hit list," Mr. Thackeray said. "But my enemies know full well if anything happens to me, there will be a flare-up across this country. There will be communal riots everywhere. People will not keep quiet. So much lo people have for me."

Many in Bombay confirm the op ion that Government action to rein Hindu extremists is unlikely. Instea these people say, the best hope f building lasting harmony betwe Hindus and Muslims rests with p vate actions, such as the "Hands Harmony" day staged earlier t year in which [illegible] people, mos Hindus and Muslims, joined hands a human chain across Bombay. M lions of others are said to have stag similar events across India on t same day.

"We have to build bridges, and have to start here in Bombay," s Mr. Padamsee, the advertising ex utive. "Otherwise, eventually, the will be no India left. India will beco a collection of Bombays."

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World's 100 Largest Urban Agglomerations

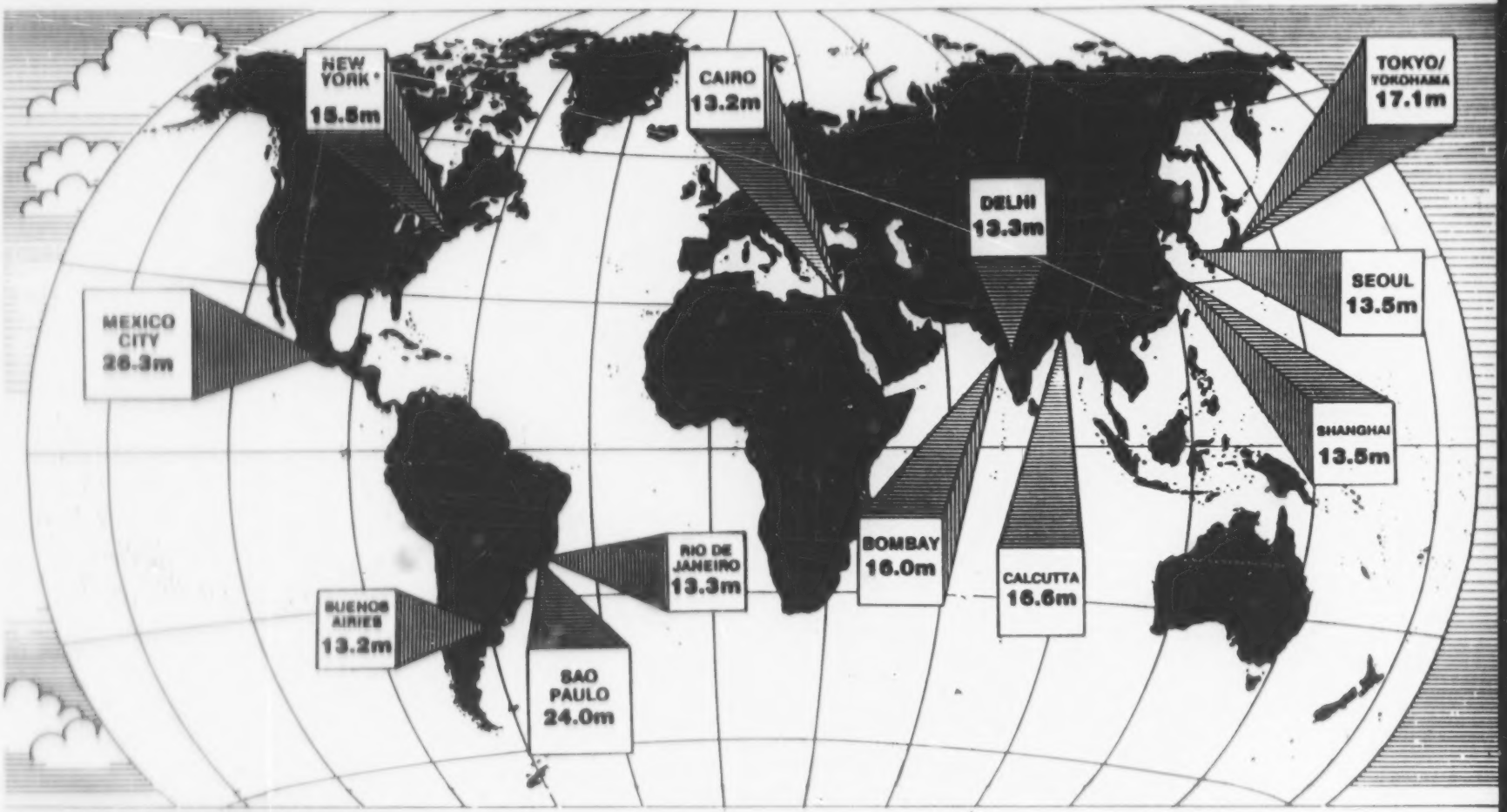
The concept of agglomeration defines the population contained within the contours of contiguous territory inhabited at urban levels of residential density without regard to administrative boundaries.

Rank 1992		Population in millions 1992	2010
1.	Tokyo	25.8	28.9
2.	Sao Paulo	19.2	25.0
3.	New York	16.2	17.3
4.	Mexico City	15.3	18.0
5.	Shanghai	14.1	21.7
6.	Bombay	13.3	24.4
7.	Los Angeles	11.9	13.9
8.	Buenos Aires	11.8	13.7
9.	Seoul	11.6	13.8
10.	Beijing	11.4	18.0
11.	Rio de Janeiro	11.3	13.3
12.	Calcutta	11.1	15.7
13.	Osaka	10.5	10.6
14.	Jakarta	10.0	17.2
15.	Tianjin	9.8	15.7
16.	Metro Manila	9.6	16.1
17.	Paris	9.4	9.6
18.	Moscow	9.2	10.4
19.	Cairo	9.0	13.4
20.	Delhi	8.8	15.6
21.	Lagos	8.7	21.1
22.	Karachi	8.6	17.0
23.	Bangkok	7.8	12.7
24.	Dacca	7.4	17.6
25.	London	7.3	7.3
26.	Istanbul	7.0	11.8
27.	Teheran	7.0	11.9
28.	Lima	6.9	10.1
29.	Chicago	6.8	7.3
30.	Essen	6.4	6.6
31.	Madras	5.5	8.4
32.	Hong Kong	5.5	6.1
33.	Madrid	5.4	5.6
34.	Milan	5.3	5.3
35.	Bogota	5.2	7.3
36.	St. Petersburg, Russia	5.1	5.8
37.	Santiago	5.1	6.4
38.	Shenyang	4.9	7.9
39.	Hyderabad	4.6	9.4
40.	Lahore	4.5	8.8
41.	Bangalore	4.3	7.3
42.	Philadelphia	4.3	4.7
43.	Baghdad	4.2	6.8
44.	Wuhan	4.0	6.6
45.	Pusan	4.0	4.7
46.	Belo Horizonte	4.0	5.5
47.	Washington, DC	3.8	4.9
48.	Sydney	3.8	4.5
49.	Guangzhou	3.8	6.0
50.	Kinshasa	3.7	7.9

Rank 1992		Population in millions 1992	2010
51.	San Francisco	3.7	4.4
52.	Detroit	3.7	4.0
53.	Naples	3.6	3.6
54.	Toronto	3.6	4.4
55.	Athens	3.5	3.9
56.	Frankfurt	3.5	3.7
57.	Yangon	3.5	6.3
58.	Katowice	3.5	3.9
59.	Barcelona	3.5	3.6
60.	Porto Alegre	3.4	4.6
61.	Ahmedabad	3.4	5.4
62.	Dallas	3.4	4.3
63.	Ho Chi Minh	3.3	5.3
64.	Alexandria	3.3	5.1
65.	Berlin	3.3	3.3
66.	Algiers	3.3	6.1
67.	Chongqing	3.2	5.3
68.	Melbourne	3.1	3.7
69.	Chengdu	3.1	5.1
70.	Taipei	3.1	5.2
71.	Harbin	3.1	5.0
72.	Rome	3.1	3.1
73.	Nagoya	3.0	3.5
74.	Houston	3.0	3.7
75.	Montreal	3.0	3.5
76.	Casablanca	3.0	5.0
77.	Xian	3.0	5.0
78.	Guadalajara	3.0	4.0
79.	Cologne	2.9	3.1
80.	Brasilia	2.9	4.9
81.	Tripoli	2.9	5.3
82.	Caracas	2.8	3.6
83.	Dusseldorf	2.8	3.4
84.	Boston	2.8	3.1
85.	Singapore	2.8	3.2
86.	Taegu	2.7	3.7
87.	Dalian	2.7	4.9
88.	Kiev	2.7	3.3
89.	Nanjing	2.7	4.5
90.	Bandung	2.7	4.8
91.	Ankara	2.6	3.9
92.	Monterrey	2.6	3.5
93.	Salvador, Brazil	2.6	3.6
94.	Jinan (PRC)	2.6	4.8
95.	Pune (Poona)	2.6	4.7
96.	Recife	2.6	3.1
97.	Hamburg	2.6	2.7
98.	Kitakyushu	2.6	3.1
99.	Surabaja	2.5	4.4
100.	Stuttgart	2.5	2.7

World Eagle table. Data from United Nations wall chart, Urban Agglomerations 1992

LARGEST URBAN CENTERS



* Includes Metropolitan New York and Northeast New Jersey, but not Southwest Connecticut.

Source: United Nations Fund for Population Activities. 1986.

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Statistical Appendix

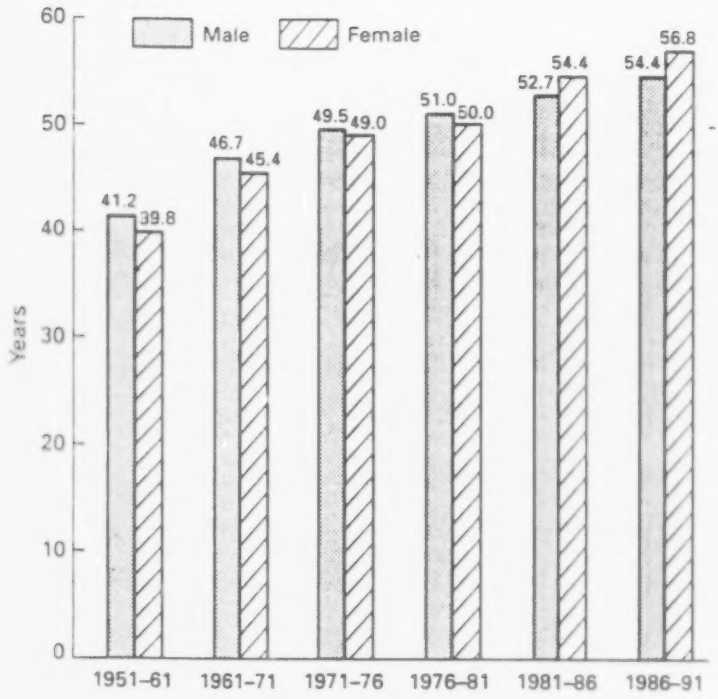

FIG. A1. Average life expectancy at birth in India, 1951–91
Note: 1981–6 and 1986–91 involve projections.
Source: The World Bank.

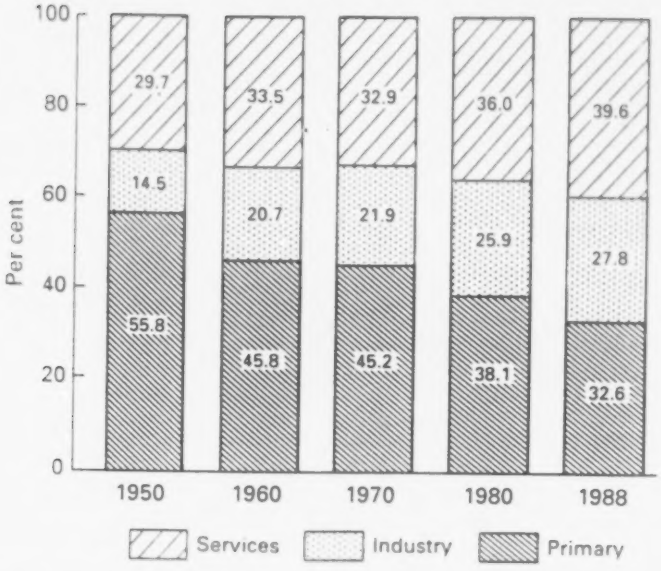

FIG. A2. The structure of GDP in India, 1980–1 prices (per cent)
Sources: National Account Statistics, Government of India;
V. Dubey, 'India: Economic Performance and Prospects', in E. Grilli and D. Salvatore (eds.), *Handbook of Economic Development* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992).

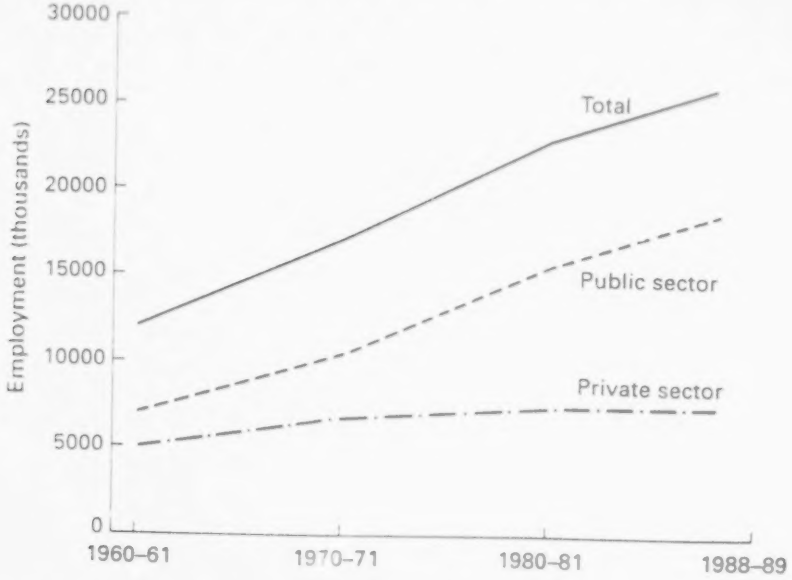

FIG. A3. Employment in the organized sector in India, 1960–89
*Provisional figures
Source: Economic Survey, Government of India.

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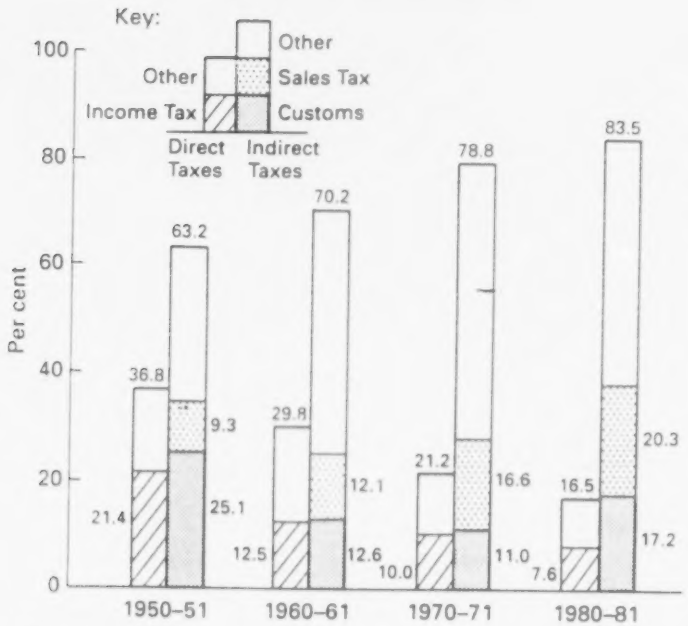

FIG. A4. The components of India's tax revenue (centre, states, and union territories), 1950/1 to 1980/1
Sources: S. Acharya, 'India's Fiscal Policy', in R. E. B. Lucas and G. Papanek (eds.), *The Indian Economy: Recent Development and Future Prospects* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988), Table 14.10; Dubey (see source for Table A1).

Table 5 *Usual status unemployment rates (as percentages of the workforce) and numbers of persons unemployed (in 000s) by sex in urban areas of major Indian states in 1987–88*

States	Unemployment Rates (%)		No. of Persons Unemployed	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Andhra Pradesh	6.4	9.0	259	134
Assam	5.3	28.4	41	25
Bihar	6.4	3.3	190	11
Gujarat	4.7	2.2	169	12
Haryana	4.6	9.6	55	13
Himachal Pradesh	6.9	10.5	7	3
Jammu & Kashmir	4.7	15.5	22	10
Karnataka	5.6	4.1	209	47
Kerala	14.1	33.8	239	211
Madhya Pradesh	4.3	5.6	158	47
Maharashtra	6.5	5.0	496	88
Orissa	7.1	14.0	87	27
Punjab	4.8	14.7	84	28
Rajasthan	4.7	1.4	119	9
Tamil Nadu	7.3	9.1	413	175
Uttar Pradesh	3.4	2.9	250	25
West Bengal	9.0	21.4	492	188

Source: NSSO : Key Results of Employment and Unemployment Survey, All-India (Part-1), NSS 43rd Round (July 1987–June 1988) Statement 40.

ly toppled in late 1990. A new minority government took power and it most likely will not succeed.

SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC PERIODS

Note: In the following table, 1 describes the *Historical Period*, 2 the developments in *Art, Religion and Literature.*

Approximate Period:		
3500–2500 B.C.	1.	Indus Valley (Sumerian) Civilization
	2.	(Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro)
2000–1500	2.	*Rig Veda* compiled
1500–1000	2.	Early *Upanishads;* development of caste system
1000–500	2.	Later *Upanishads, Ramayana, Mahabharata* and *Bhagavad Gita*
514–512	1.	Persian king Darius invades the Punjab
	2.	Gautama Buddha (563–483); Mahavira Jina (550–475); first Buddhist *jatakas;* emergence of Shaivism and Vishnuism
327–325	1.	Alexander the Great in India
320–184	1.	Mauryan Dynasty
	2.	Ashoka's column edicts; Sanchi Stupa; Buddhist Mission arrives in Ceylon
250 B.C.–A.D. 60	1.	Bactrian and Parthian (Indo-Greek) dynasties in the Punjab
250 B.C.–A.D. 250	1.	Andhra Dynasty in S.E. Deccan
	2.	Amaravati Stupa; first Buddhist caves (Bhaja)
184 B.C.–A.D. 70	1.	Sunga Period
	2.	Early Ajanta wall paintings; Buddh-Gaya shrine; Buddhist caves at Karla, Bedsa, Kanheri, etc.
A.D. 64–225	1.	Kushan Dynasty in N.W. India; South India Kingdoms of the Cholas (Madras region), Cheras (Malabar coast) and Pandyas (southern tip)
	2.	Gandhara (Helleno-Buddhist) art; Mathura school of art; Buddhism arrives in China; commerce with Rome (Malabar); Manu's religious laws; *Kama Sutra* written
320–475	1.	Gupta Dynasty
	2.	Early Gupta art (Sarnath, Gaya); Nalanda University; writers, musicians, scientists; Ajanta Cave frescos; Ellora Cave carvings
4th century	1.	Hun invasion
5th–10th century	1.	Pallava Dynasty in the South
	2.	Appearance of Dravidian architecture (Mahabalipuram)
6th–12th century	1.	Chalukya Dynasty in the Deccan
	2.	Temples at Aihole, Badami, Pattadkal; decline of Buddhism in India; disappearance of Jainism in the South
8th century	1.	Emergence of Rajputs; Sind invaded by Arabs
	2.	Hindu cave temples at Ellora and Elephanta
8th–12th century	1.	Pala Dynasty in Bengal
	2.	Bengal school of sculpture; Shankara, teacher of Advaita; Shaivism in Kashmir and the South
9th–end of 17th century	1.	Hindu medieval period
	2.	Chandella art at Khajuraho; Chalukya art in Gujarat; Kalinga art at Konarak; Nepal school of art; Sena art in Bengal; Chola art at Tanjore; Hoysala art at Belur, Halebid and Somnathpur; Pandya art at Madurai; Vijayanager art at Hampi
11th–15th century	2.	Hindu art penetrates Cambodia and Java
11th–14th century	1.	Moslems conquer Delhi, Khilji and other dynasties; Timur destroys Delhi

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INDIA

Approximate Period:

	2.	The Italian Marco Polo visits South India; Guru Nanak, first Sikh teacher; Ramanuja and Madhava, mystic philosophers
5th–16th century	1.	Three Moslem Dynasties; Lodis in Delhi, Brahmanis in the Deccan, Adil Shahis at Bijapur. The Portuguese arrive in South India
	2.	Flowering of Hindu and Bengali literature
6th–17th century	1.	Mogul Dynasty (Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb)
	2.	Reigns over North and Central India; Akbar brings Hindus and Moslems together, epoch finds expression in architecture and Mogul and Rajput miniature painting
7th century	1.	Establishment in the South of British East India Company, followed by Dutch and French; emergence of two Indian military powers: Marathas under Shivaji and Sikhs in Punjab
8th century	1.	See-saw wars all over India; British tighten their hold (Clive); Nadir Shah sacks Delhi
857	1.	First stirrings of Indian nationalism: Sepoy Rising
858	1.	British Crown takes over from East India Company
econd half of 19th century	2.	Hindu religious reform movements: Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission
885	1.	Establishment of Indian National Congress
913	1.	Rabindranath Tagore wins Nobel Prize for literature
915	1.	Mahatma Gandhi returns from South Africa to lead struggle for emancipation and independence
	2.	Excavations culminate in Archaeological Survey of India; Bengal school of modern painting
930	2.	Chandrasekara Vekata Raman wins Nobel Prize for physics
947	1.	Independence and partition of subcontinent into India and Pakistan (predominantly Moslem)

ost-Independence Period:

948	January, Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi
950	January 26, India declared a Republic, with its own constitution
951	First General Election. Nehru confirmed as Premier
954	Repossession of Pondicherry, from the French
961	Annexation of Goa, taken back from Portuguese
962	November–December. War with China over northern border disputes
964	Death of Jawaharlal Nehru
965	War between India and Pakistan over Kashmir
966	January. Mrs. Gandhi becomes Prime Minister
971	Second major war with Pakistan. Bangladesh becomes separate state
974	India explodes first nuclear device in Rajasthan desert
975	June. Declaration of "State of Emergency" by Mrs. Gandhi
977	March. General Election, Mrs. Gandhi out, Mararji Desai becomes Prime Minister
980	January. Mrs. Gandhi returned to power
981	June. India launches communications satellite
984	Mrs. Gandhi assassinated. Rajiv Gandhi elected Prime Minister by largest post-independent majority
984	Dec. 3. Methyl isocyanate gas escapes from tank owned by Union Carbide in Bhopal. Worst industrial accident in history of technology
987	Peace accord signed by governments of India and Sri Lanka aimed at ending the communal conflict between the central government and the Tamil separatist fighters in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

THE SHAPING OF MODERN INDIA

Approximate Period:

1989	Vishwanath Pratap Singh elected Prime Minister in a tion of minority parties called the National Front.
1990	Moslem extremists in Kashmir resort to terrorism in the mands to quit India and form their own Islamic state.

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INDIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM - AN OVERVIEW

1. As in the West, but much older, a system of clerical and monastic education system existed in our country for several thousand years. But access to knowledge, while it flourished within, was very restricted, as far as the non-clerics. Apart from the study of Scriptures, medicine and healthful living, law, civic administration, city planning, architecture, music, literature, painting, dance, interaction with environment etc. were all subjects for study and discovery... a very broad spectrum of interest and serious study.

2. Provision of institutionalized mass education, a modern phenomenon of a couple of hundred years, did not exist in India either, but some several kinds of functional education, apprenticeships, teacher-pupil tie-ups and "schools" existed. With the advent of Islam, also the provision of basic religious education to the young in the madarsa.

3. Advent of the British towards the end of the 1700 and remained till 1947, Day of Independence. They found much that was irrelevant, when seen through British eyes but a few others, who studied the culture and intellectual wealth of India, (orientalists) saw it very differently. The British saw a subservient ally in the Indian trained manpower, to serve them in jobs and offices, including the armed forces. Deliberate policy to make them, Indian in blood and color, to adopt the world-views and attitudes of the British. It did havoc to the existing and fragile Indian network of educational institutions.

4. Independent India has education as a major concern. Rapid expansion tool place of educational institutions. Number of primary increased from 210000 in 1950-51 to 529000 in 1985-86; middle schools (Grade VI-VIII) from 13000 to 135000. Gross enrollment for the primary was a flattering 85% from 43% in 1950. Similarly, the number of Secondary Schools (Grade 10) was 39,468 in 1990-91 and Higher or Senior Secondary was 19151. Current figure is close to 90,000. There are about 7000 colleges, most of them affiliated to about 140 Universities. India has one of the largest systems of higher education. This also includes 5 Open Universities. There is also the National Open School. In fact, the National Policy on Education has given special fillip to Open Education, both at the school and tertiary levels.

4. Structure: Primary either 1-4 or 1-5; Middle or upper primary: either 5-7 or 6-8; secondary: 9-10; Higher secondary: 11-12 First degree: 3 years. Referred to as 10+2+3

5. However impressive, the physical growth of institutions and the network of support institutions like teacher training colleges, the goal of Universalization of education or Education For All remains a teasing illusion. Current literacy rate is just about 50. But the story of women's literacy, quality of schools in rural India remains most unsatisfactory.

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5. Examinations have dominated the education system, both at the school and university levels and have totally corrupted it. A case of the tail wagging the dog. There is talk, serious talk, at the level of Boards of Education, to allow the schools to have own assessment, at Grade 9 and Grade 11 and even talking of Grade 10 public examination becoming private.

6. The New Economic Policy of India did some startling transformations to mind-sets and National Income. From a near bankrupt exchequer, we have an embarrassing 20 billion dollar reserve and feeling shy to get too much loan for projects from the World Bank, returning debts before they are due etc. Not only Coca Cola but the big business of America is coming to join in partnerships ventures. There is a close link between Economics and Education and there is beginning to have pressure from the efficiency of a productivity oriented economy to improve the quality of education, to provide the human resource.

7. There is tremendous pressure on the bottom third, the marginalized, becoming more so, with the new stress on market and consumption. The only way to redeem them is through education and training, but it is an open question about the degree of commitment of the Government to do so. Awakened and aware people can create a lot of pain to the Government in power. So the NGOs who work for creating awareness, build people's movements get the rough end of the stick. Corruption is also a direct off shoot of the poor level of education. People are exploitable and they are being exploited. Unaware of their rights, they are robbed of their rights etc.

8. Recently the Union (Federal) Government passed a Bill, enabling the State Governments to have local self-governments. Once introduced and after the pain and agony of power-shedding, and power sharing, people of the area should become able to manage their own lives, make their decisions, monitor better the education, health and other services etc. Indian people are willing to work on it, with some degree of patience, though now rapidly wearing thin.

Let me conclude by mentioning some issues and concerns: Education for productivity, Yes but with or without Values and Character? Education for Self Growth, Yes, but also Education for Community? An education that critically integrates culture with it, yes or an education that will make all of us belong to the great Animal Farm that McDonalds dream of and are building all around the world?

08 July, 1994

Thomas V Kunnunkal, S.J.

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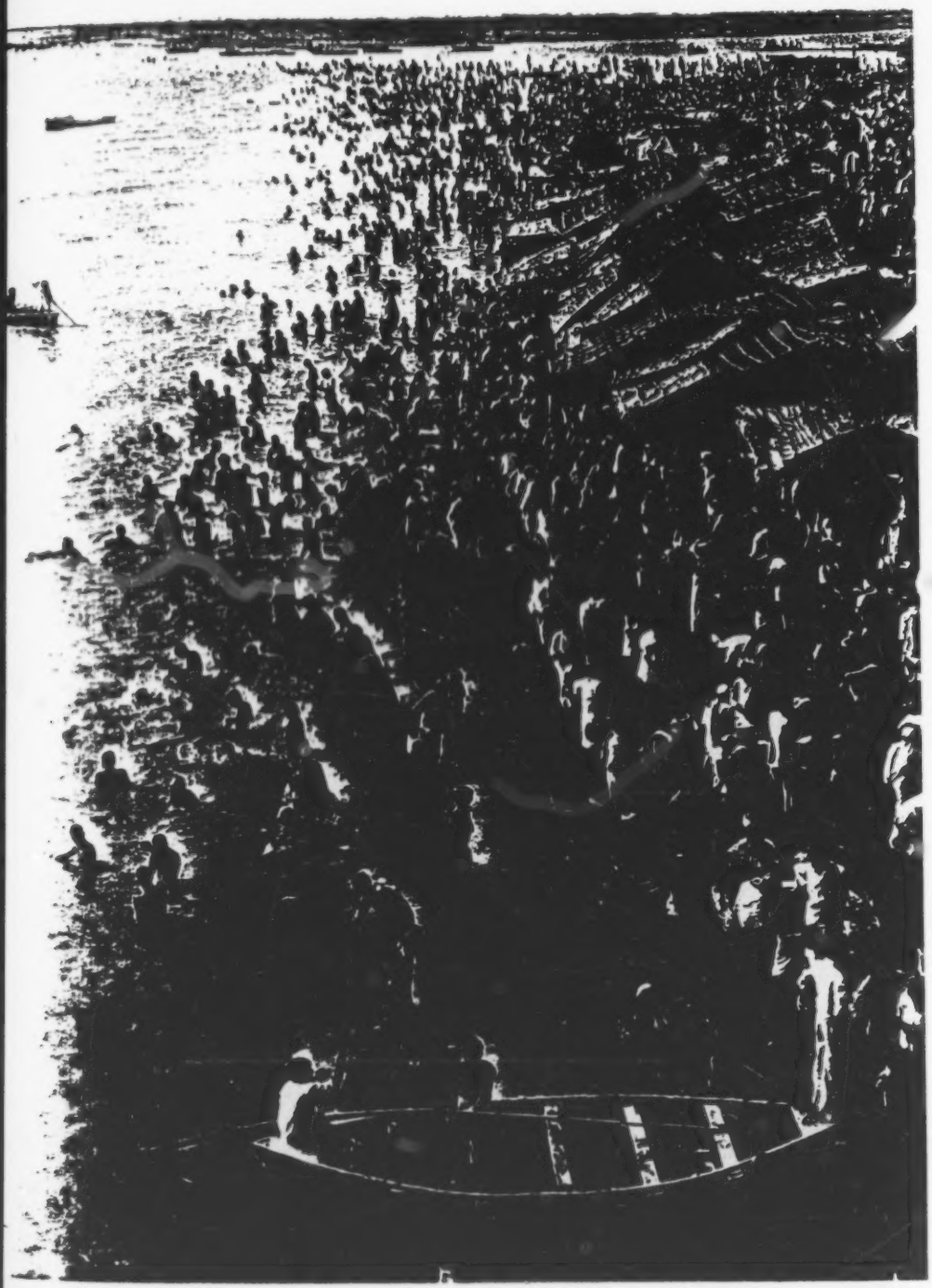
Cambridge - India

RELIGIONS



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Religions

Hinduism: The Hindu religion had its origin in the concepts of the early Aryans who came to India more than 4,000 years ago. It is not merely a religion but also a philosophy and a way of life. It does not originate in the teachings of any one prophet or holy book. It respects other religions and does not attempt to seek converts. It teaches the immortality of the human soul and three principal paths to ultimate union of the individual soul with the all pervasive spirit.

The essence of Hindu faith is embodied in the Lord's Song, the Bhagavad Gita: "He who considers this (self) as a slayer or he who thinks that this (self) is slain, neither knows the Truth. For it does not slay, nor is it slain. This (self) is unborn, eternal, changeless, ancient, it is never destroyed even when the body is destroyed."

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Hindu temple at Tungnath in Garhwal

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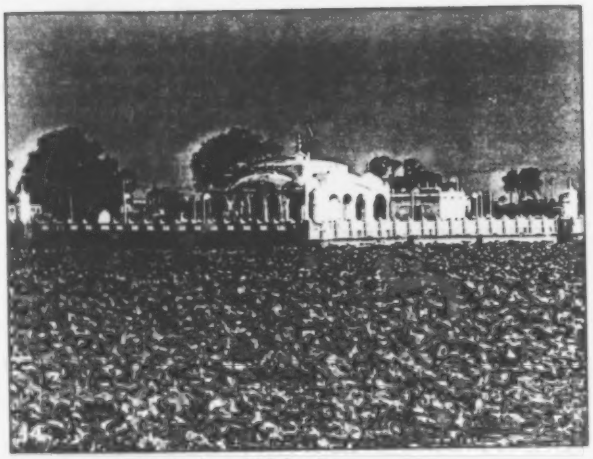
India - Cowshish

Jainism and Buddhism: In the sixth century before Christ, Mahavira propagated Jainism. Its message was asceticism, austerity and non-violence.

At about the same time, Buddhism came into being. Gautama Buddha, a prince, renounced the world and gained enlightenment. He preached that 'Nirvana' was to be attained through the conquest of self. Buddha's teachings in time spread to China and some other countries of South-East Asia.

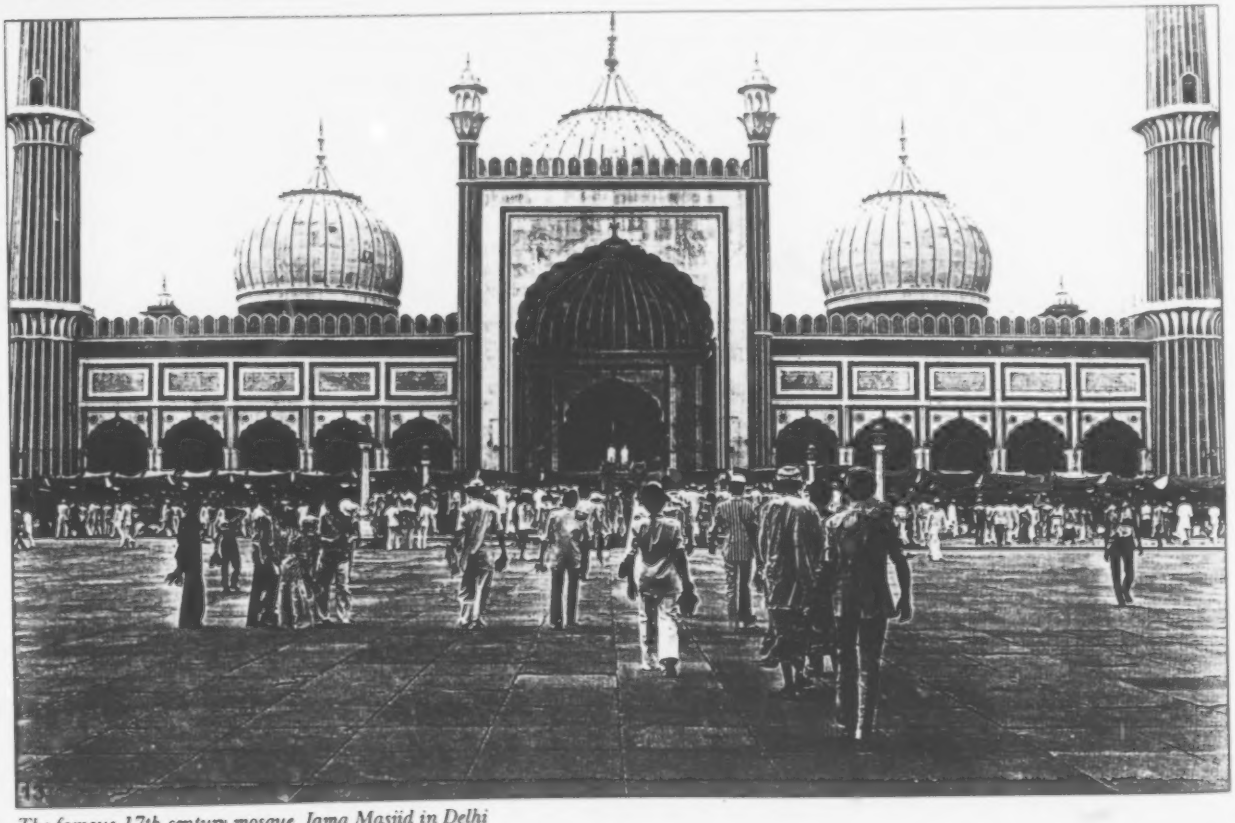
Engraving a Buddhist religious text



Pawapuri, the birth place of Mahavira

Islam: Arab traders brought Islam to South India in the seventh century. After them came the Afgl.ans and the Moghuls, among whom the most enlightened was the Emperor Akbar. Akbar almost succeeded in founding a new religion Din-e-Elahi, based on both Hinduism and Islam, but it found few adherents.

Islam has flourished in India through the centuries. Muslim citizens have occupied some of the highest positions in the country since independence in 1947.



The famous 17th century mosque, Jama Masjid in Delhi

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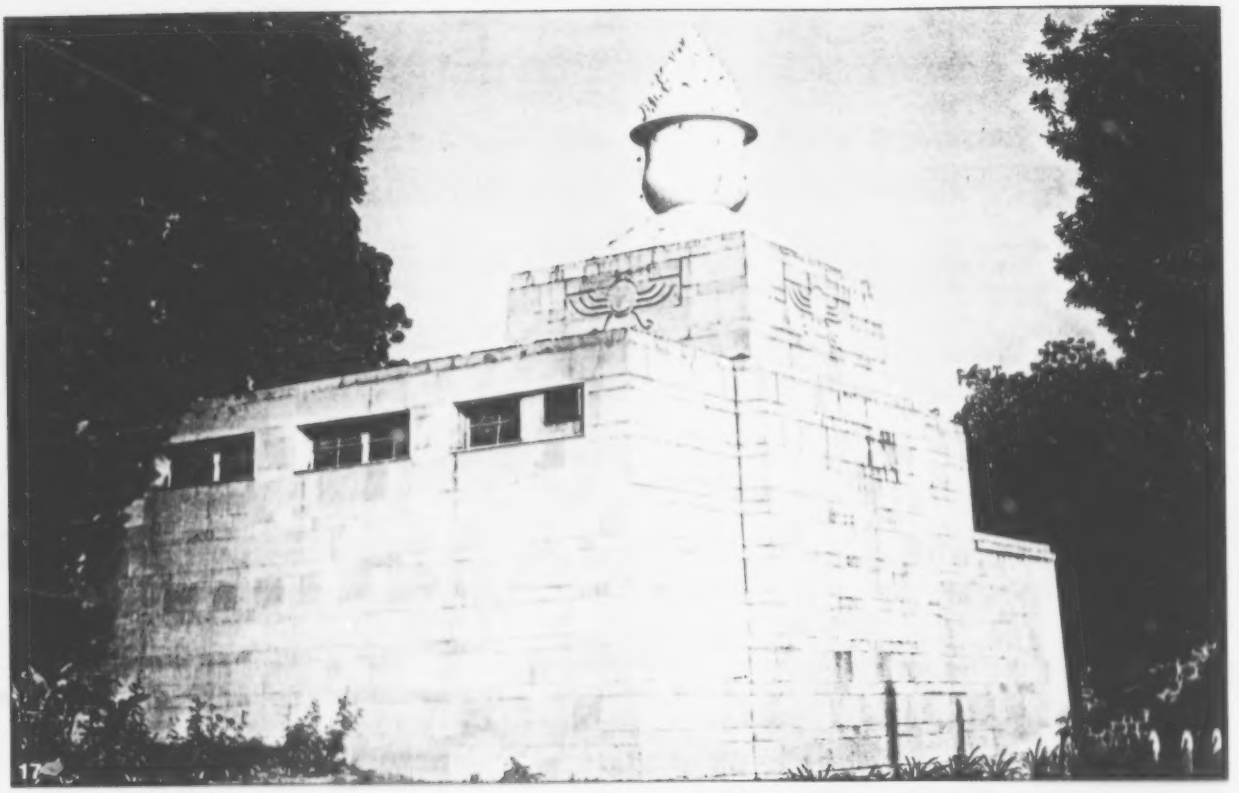


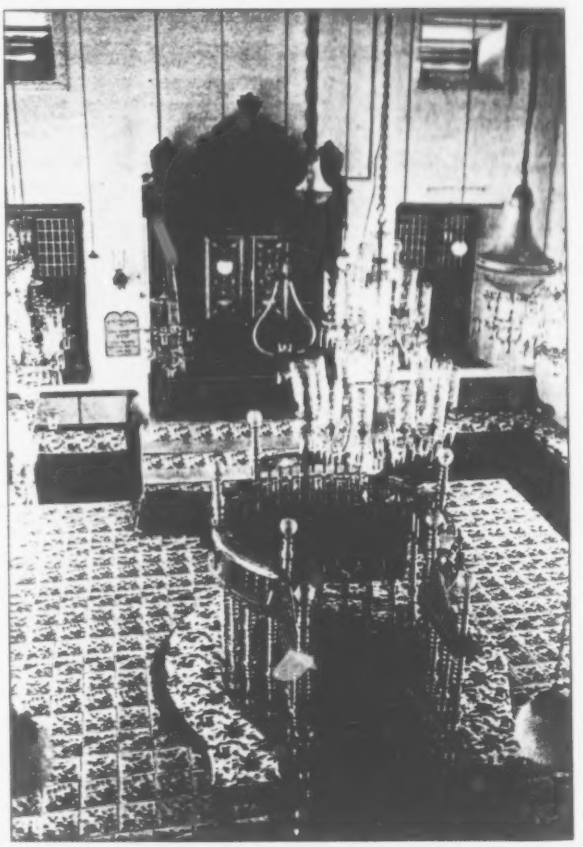
Parsee fire temple in Delhi

Zoroastrianism: In the days of the old Persian Empire, Zoroastrianism was the dominant religion in West Asia, and in the form of Mithraism, it spread over vast areas of the Roman Empire, as far as Britain.

After the Islamic conquest of Iran, a few intrepid Zoroastrians left their homeland and sought refuge in India. The first group is said to have reached Diu in about 766 A.D.

Their total world population probably does not exceed 130,000. With the exception of some 10,000 in Iran, almost all of them live in India, the vast majority concentrated in Bombay. The Parsees excel in industry and commerce, and contribute richly to the intellectual and artistic life of the nation.

Judaism: Jewish contact with the Malabar Coast in Kerala, dates back to 973 BC when King Solomon's merchant fleet began trading for spices and other fabled treasures. Scholars say that the Jews first settled in Cranganore, soon after the Babylonian conquest of Judea in 586 BC. The immigrants were well received and a Hindu king granted to Joseph Rabban, a Jewish leader, a title and a principality.



Synagogue in Cochin

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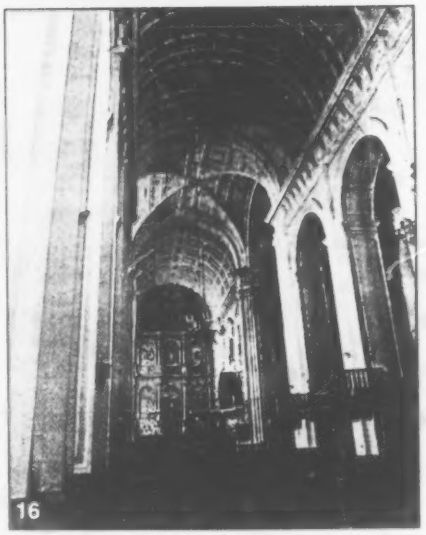
The Sisganj Gurudwara in Delhi, an important Sikh shrine

Sikhism: Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism in the 15th century, stressed the unity of God and the brotherhood of man. Sikhism, with its affirmation of God as the one supreme truth and its ideals of discipline and spiritual striving, soon won many followers. It was perhaps possible only in this hospitable land that two religions as diverse as Hinduism and Islam could come together in a third, namely Sikhism.

Christianity: Christianity reached India not long after Christ's own lifetime, with the arrival of St. Thomas, the Apostle. The Syrian Christian Church in the south traces its roots to the visit of St. Thomas. With the arrival of St.Francis Xavier in 1542 the Roman Catholic faith was established in India. Today Christians of several denominations practice their faith freely.



Sé Cathedral in Old Goa

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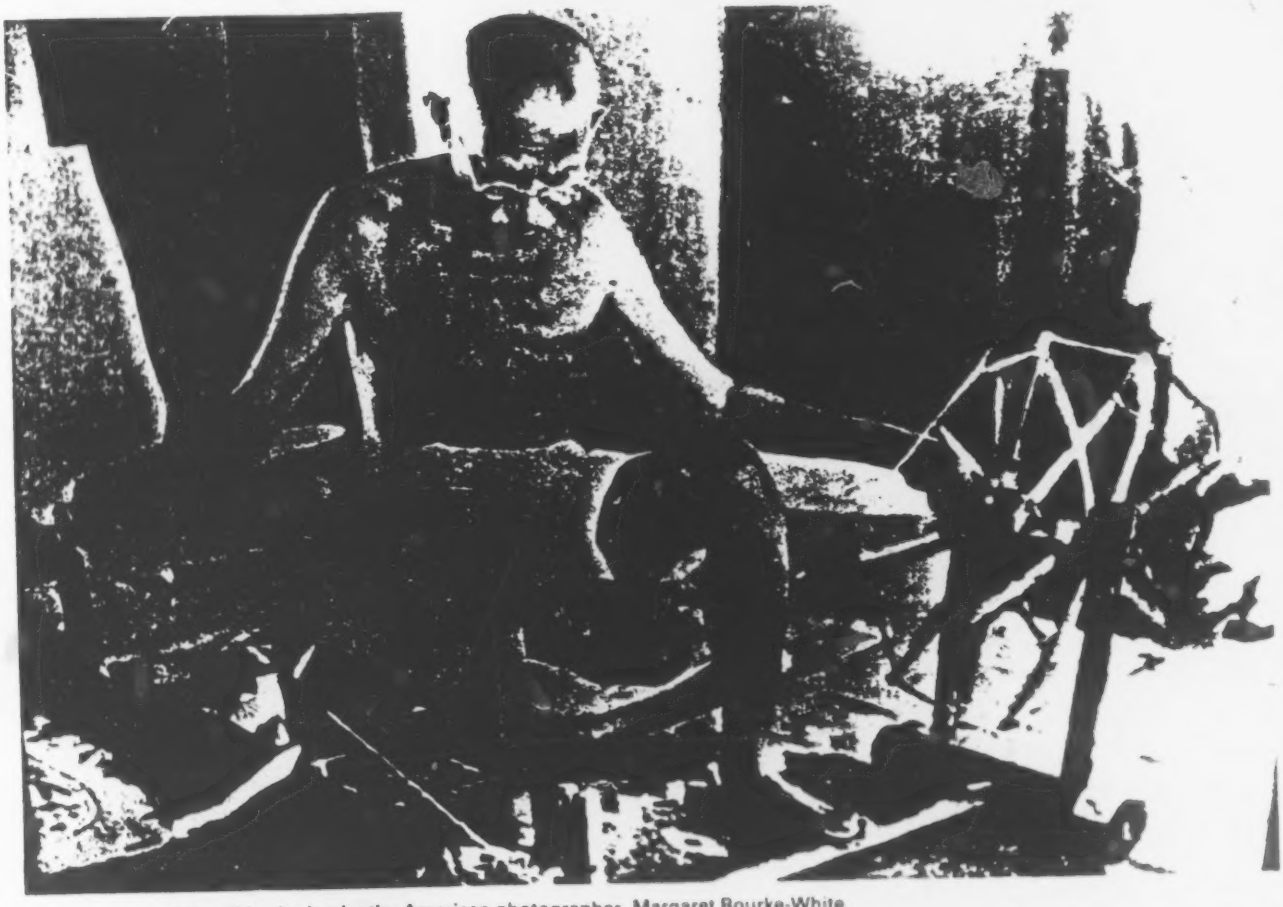

A classic study of Gandhi spinning by the American photographer, Margaret Bourke-White.

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THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE - GEOGRAPHY AND DIVERSITY

Prof. Moonis Raza

The social ethos of India reflects a high degree of unity in diversity. The factors that have led to the emergence of this unique features of the Indian polity are not far to seek. We shall examine the spatial aspects of the ethos, by identifying, on the one hand, the factors leading to regional differentiation and diversities, and the factors which operate as bonds of unity, on the other.

Factors of Diversity

First, the large geographical spread of the sub-continent provides fertile ground for the germination and flowering of regional diversities in the social milieu. India is the seventh largest country in the world, approximating in size with the continent of Europe minus the USSR. It would have been surprising indeed if the degree of regional differentiation in a country of such dimensions would have been less marked than what it is.

Second, the differentiation in the natural landscapes, has contributed to the emergence of different forms and patterns of man nature interactions in the different regions of India. Ranging from the senile topography of the Deccan to the youthful contours of the Himalayas, from the highly differentiated system of the highest peaks of the world to the unvarying monotony of the extensive plains, from the intricate maze of channels in the Bengal delta to the almost complete absence of surface flow in the Thar, from the wettest parts of the world to some of the driest, from the dense growth of tropical forests in the North-East to the vast extensive tracts where not a blade of grass grows - the extent of diversity in the natural environment of India is of an astoundingly high order. The Indian people have, for millenia, interacted and came to terms with these different environments and, as a consequence, their responses to their specific landscapes have acquired distinctly regional forms. The food they eat, the clothes they wear, the houses they live in, the economic activities they carry out, the dialects they speak, the ballads they sing, the festivals they organize, the myths and legends that embody their emotional responses - all of these acquire a regional stamp. The nomadic Gujjar herdsmen in the Pir Panjal, the Moplah fisherman of the Kerala Coast, the Maratha peasant of the black cotton soil belt, the jhum cultivator of the humid north east, the steel workers of Chattisgarh - all in their own way, have and are coming to terms with their specific eco-systems. The ethos of India reflects this diversity of man-nature interactions.

Third, the differing sources of the waves of immigration to the sub-continent, from the surrounding territories in a process spread over millenia, the different routes of the dispersal of these into this vast land and the consequent concentration of diverse ethnic elements in different regions has created a social mosaic with distinct regional

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concentrations - their ethnic distinctiveness merging into each other in the vast intervening tracts. Three important regional concentrations may be distinguished; (i) the south with its long coast line permitting maritime links with peoples across the sea; (ii) the north west, with convenient openings for peoples of the vast expenses of central and west Asia across the Himalayan wall at Khyber and Bolan; and (iii) the north east, whose passes permitted the immigration of Mongoloid peoples into the valleys and the Himalayan territories which show an interlacing of northern and southern elements in differing magnitudes enmeshed with each other within this mountain world.

Fourth, the formation of regional identities of the agricultural communities in different regions at different points of time within a range of about 3,000 years has contributed to the strengthening of the regional forms in the social sphere. This process of region formation has been further sharpened by the continuity of the historical tradition of an essentially agricultural society.

Underlying Unity:

In the light of the above, the unique feature of the social geography of India, is not the extent of its plurality but the fact that social diversity has been based on and sustained by an underlying unity which has grown with time. The factors that have led to strengthening of this underlying unity of the social ethos in India may now be examined.

First, in spite of the difference in the natural environment of the various regions, the Monsoonal rhythm of the seasons provides a strong element of uniformity. The alternation of the dry and the wet seasons and the concentration of the life giving rains to a few months in the year is, by and large, an all-India phenomenon, even though the magnitude of the dryness of the dry season and wetness of the wet season varies, greatly from one part of the country to the other. The music and fragrance provided by raindrops falling on the parched, thirsty earth generates intense emotional responses in the Indian people almost everywhere - from the arid Thar to the humid north-east. The Kajari of Bhojpur and the Malhar of Braj have their counterparts in almost all parts of India. The rainfed subsistence agriculture and the village community based on it - was, in more sense than one, a gist of the Monsoons. The all pervasiveness of the Monsoons - in spite of the many regional variations - has provided the natural base for a certain degree of uniformity in man-nature interactions throughout the length and breadth of the country; the unity of India is strongly rooted in this commonness.

Second, the horizontal spread of the cultural and socio-economic attributes from different parts of the country to each other and the constant and overgrowing give and take through inter-regional contacts and exchanges has generated a process of cultural fusion which has put its stamp on regional categories and has created strong bonds of unification and integration. The foremost of all of these integrative forces in the basal matrix of Indian culture was provided by the spatial spread of Vedic and Puranic traditions during the ancient period itself from the Indo-Gangetic Plains south, north and eastwards, bringing the whole areas from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and

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from desertic wastes of Sindh to the lush valleys of Kamrup under its influence. The unifying role of this horizontal spread became strong and meaningful to the extent it had the capacity to assimilate within itself elements of regional traditions and getting itself enriched in this process. This give and take operated at two levels. Firstly, Brahamanical learning through the medium of Sanskrit provided strong bonds of cultural unity among the religions and the intellectual elite in the country as whole. A similar role was played by Persian and English in the later periods of history. Secondly, and, perhaps, in a more important sense, it wasthe cultural fusion achieved through the preachings of Bhakti and Sufi saints in rural India which has left an indelible print on the cultural ethos of India. Though Kabir and Nanak, Tukaram and Chisti, Ramanuj and Nooruddin and Reshi spoke in different dialects, their message was essentially the same - the message of the unity of mankind and the brotherhood of men. Perhaps nowhere else in the world does one find such apparently diverse traditions as those associated with Hinduism and Islam getting interwined so intricately into a composite matrix as reflected in the Kabirbani, the Taj Mahal, the Rag Darbari on the Kangra miniatures. The integration of India is strongly rooted in this composite matrix.

Third, the development of inter-regional economic linkages and the emergence of national home market during the past two hundred years or so, though constrained by the negative influences of imperialist exploitation, have played an important role in unifying the country. The British, by striking at the roots of the self-sufficiency of the village community brought the bulk of rural India into a largely unified all India market. The establishment of network of railways and other means of communication greatly facilitated this process. The requirements of the economy also generated inter-district and inter-state migrations on a considerable scale, breaking the age-old isolation of regional groups from each other. Of special significance in this connection was the rural-urban migration stream which brought together into urban agglo-merations people, who spoke different dialects or professed different faiths, but were citizens of a new India. The attempts made since 1974 to correct the distortions introduced by the British in the regional structure of the country and the accelerated rate of socio-economic development have furthered the consolidation of the national home market, have thus strengthened the foundations of Indian nationhood.

Main elements of the regional structure.

Let ushave a closer look at the main elements of the regional structure of the Indian policy as it has evolved under the impact of the factors noted above. The physical layout of India is such that all regions are not equally suited for settled agriculture at a low level or technology. The differences in relief and in the distribution of rainfall and the forest cover have resulted in some areas continuing to be centres of perennial attraction while others remaining more or less negative from this point of view. The physical diversity has thus provided the natural base for the diversity of regional culture.

The river basins constituted the most attractive areas for the early peasant communities. These basic offered a strong base for agriculture - rich soils, adequate water supply and easy accessibility through riverian

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Routes. The basinsof the principal rivers - the Indus, Ganga, Tapti, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna and the Kaveri - provided habitats for these communities for thousands of years and these regions have shown a cultural continuity which has a parallel only in the valley of the Hwangho and the Yangtse in China. They have continued to be the perennial nuclear regionsof India. On the periphery of these basins lay the relatively less attractive or relatively isolated areas as they were hilly, forested or dry and were away from the main lines of communication within the country. Sind, Mewar, Kathiawar, the upper Brahmaputra valley, coastal Orissa and the Bundelkhand may be included in this category. These were other areas in the interior of the sub-continent or in the bordering mountain rim which were least attractive for agriculture or were isolated to a high degree. These isolated or negative regions have served as blind alleys in the history of the country. They have been characterized by a high degree of stagnation due to the continuation of earlier forms of culture largely unaffected by the winds of change which swept over the areas of perennial attraction. The Western Ghats, the Aravalis, the Vindhyan complex of Central India, Chota Nagpur plateau, hilly tracts of Orissa, Shillong plateau and the bordering Assam hills belong to the category. These areas happen to coincide with the belts of tribal concentration in the country.

Elements of the Social Geography of India.

The mosaic, revealed through the regional structure of the Indian polity as discussed above, also reflects the regional di-stribution of the social components of the Indian population and has been further strengthened by these distribution patterns. It would, however, be worthwhile to have an overview of the totality of these patterns and processes.

(a) Peopling of India

The peopling of India in the pr historic, ancient and medieval periods has left a deep imprint on the enthic characteristics of the different regions of the country. This is reflected in the concentration of the Palaeo-Mediterraneans in the South, of the Mediterraneans and Nordics in the North and the North West, of palaei and Tibeto Mongoloids in the Himalayan realm and the north-eastern valleys, and of the Proto Australoids in the Aravali-Vidhya-Chota Nagpur belt. The actual picture is far more complex but the recognition of these major tendencies of distribution are of some significance in understanding the regional structure of the country. It may, however, be noted that as we move from the geographical periphery towards the centre, ethnic distinctiveness losses much of its relevances since different categories merge with each other imperceptably in the vast expenses of the Indian sub-continent through continuous contacts spread over thousand of years. There is considerable weight in the assertion of Cohen, when he states: "In summary and to push the date to its farthest conculsion, we might say that, even though historically and contemporaneously there is a tremendous diversity physically in India, there is, roughly speaking, a physical type which is India".

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The ethnic characteristics of the population as a factor of regional differentiation in the social sphere is of particular relevance in the case of the tribal peoples. The Negrito communities have been by and large assimilated into other racial groups and the remanants are restricted now to parts of the Andamans and the Nilgiris. The Pro-Australoid communities have been squeezed into the agriculturally negative areas of the Aravali-Vindhya-Chotanagpur belt and are generally living at a low level of development. The Palaeo and the Tibeto- Mongoloid communities have lived in the small worlds within worlds of the mountain realm of the north and the north-east in relative isolation over centuries using low levels of technology in tropical forest eco-systems. These regional identitiesare being integrated in the democratic polity of India through inducing impulses of growth into them. Regional strains and stresses, that still persist, are the consequence of the differing levels of development as between the tribal and the adjacent non-tribal communities and the strains can be eliminated only by minimising such disparities.

(b) Caste

The most potent institution which, in spite of its extremely negative role, continues to exert tremendous influence on social life in India is the caste system. While originally rooted in Hinduism, it has brought other religious groups - the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians - under its influence. It is said that as a result of conversion, a person may lose his religion in India, but he never loses his caste. While the phenomenon of caste is also pervasive, it has its distinct regional forms. As Srinivas has pointed out, while there is horizontal unity in the higher castes of the sub-continent, each of them is also linked vertically with the lower castes in its own specific regional setting. Harrison has focussed attention on this important feature of the caste system in the following words: "The caste structure in India provides into a series of regional caste structures, all threaded loosely together within the all embracing hierarchy of the Hindu Society". The caste system is a parasite which is found throughout the length and breadth of India; but it thrives on regional hosts. Of particularly significance for the social geographer is the regional dimension of the distribution of the socially and economically deprived caste groups - the scheduled castes in India. Their concentration indicates the varying magnitude and breadth of socio-economic exploitation in the different regions of India.

(c) Language

Language, the vehicle of communication, is, perhaps the most important manifestation of the social cohesion of a group. Linguistic diversity in India, therefore, reflects regional differentiation, on the one hand, and is an important factor in regional formation, on the other. The magnitude of linguistic diversity in the country has been sometimes overemphasized. It may be noted that only 22 out of the 187 languages of India count for 9.7% of the population. The regional languages are hierarchical in nature - dialect regions nesting into sub-language

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regions into language regions, and finally into linguistic family regions. The basic unity in the folk ethos is the dialect region which has persisted over long period and has defied the time. The intimate link between the spoken word and the territory is brought out effectively by the fact that the local dialects have been since ancient times to the present desi nated by the geographic names of territories where they are spoken Avanti, Prachya, Sauraseni and Ookshimatya of the Natya Sastra or Bhojpuri, Bundeli and Awadhi of today. The persistence of this relationship over thousands of years is remarkable indeed and has given it tremendous strength. As Vidyalankar states: "The areas of India dialects and languages, as they are found today correspond in a striking manner with the ancient and medival janpadas or anapadsanghas. They have grown out of the whole history of India. As we move about the dialect to the higher levels of the linguistic hierarchy, we once again meet the fourfold regional diversion; (i) The Dravidian region of the South, (ii) the Indo-Aryan region of the North and the North-West and (iii) the Mon-Khmer and the Tibeto- Surman region of the north-East and the Himalayan realm, and (iv) the Austric region of the Aravali-Vindhya-Chotanagpur complex.

Whilethe fundamental role of language is regional differentiation in the social geography of India needs to be properly understood, it would be erroneous not to recognise the strong trend of inter-language cross-fertilisation that has been spread over millenia and which has brought about, in the words of Katre, "a chemical fusion not a physical mixture where the different components can be easily separated. During the last three thousand years, each of these distinct group of languages has come into close contact with the remaining groups, and out of this contact has arisen a vocabulary which shows a Pan-Indian characteristic".

(d) Religion

The religious composition of the population constitutes an important web in the social fabric of India. India is the original home of Hinduism, which constitutes the system of beliefs and rituals for the great majority of its people. The horizontal spread of Hinduism from its cradle in the land of the Sapta Sindhu has brought the entire country under its influence. But as Srinivas has rightly pointed out, a distinction need to be made between All India Hinduism and Regional Hinduism. The folk ethos of rural India is so deeply rooted in di erse ecologies that religious ideas and values, in spite of an underlying unity, have acquired specific forms in regional moulds. The worship of the Mother Goddess, for example, which is the sheet-anchor of the religious beliefs of all agricultural peoples, is all pervasive; but Kamakha Devi is specific to Kamrup, Durga Devi to Bengal, Vaishno Devi to the foothills in the North-West. It has, in fact, been suggested that a hierarchy - ranging from village mai to deities of regional and All India significance - may be identified which provides the backbone of the regional structure of fold religion in India. Unlike Hinduism, whose distribution is widespread throughout the length and breadth of the country, the other religious communities have a marked tendency towards clusterin and concentration. The Muslims, against popular belief, are a predominently rural community with marked concentration in the Kashmir Valley and adjacent Kargil Tehsil, Jewast,

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Rohilkhand and Upper Doab, Ganga Delta, Malabar and the Lakshdwip. The Sikhs though extremely mobile, are concentrated in the Punjab and part of Haryana. A significant majority of the Christians live in the southern territories of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Goa and have their other clusters in Chotanagpur and the north eastern states. The Tribal territories have a strong concentration of animistic and totemistic beliefs.

It is no doubt true that religious beliefs constitute an important element in the spiritual life of the people, but the role of religious diversity in the Indian polity has quite often been overstated. Religious communities are intervined with each other within regional systems. They do not constitute separate national streams, confronting and interacting with each at the level of the nations. The Kashmiri Muslims and the Kashmiri Hindu and the Tamil Hindu. The hearts of the Sikh, the Hindu and the Muslim peasants of the Punjab beat with the rythm of the same Bhangra and the soft melody of the same Heer. All the more remarkable in this process of cultural fusion is the traditional role of fairs and festivals all over the land. The Hindu shrines and holy places, the Islamic mosques and darghas, the Jain Teerthstals, the Buddhist monastories and the Christian churches, drew their devotees from many parts of India; some of them like Varanasi, Rameshwar, Ajmer, Budhagaya and old Goa are shrines of national status; and they not only draw their devotees from all over India but from our countrymen of other religions as well. These and the regional one act as strong nodes for cultural and emotional integration of the nation. In their economic functions, most of them, like the Pushkar Lake fair, serve to strengthen these bonds.

(e) Culture

An interesting balance between diversity and unity can be seen in most of our cultural expressions and art forms as well. The two classical systems of Carnatic and Hindustani music though have a common aesthetic and technical base, have developed their own distinctive flavour and style. At the same time, there has been and continues to be a lot of exchange of Ragas, melodies, techniques and styles between the two. At the popular level, though each region has its own distinct folk or tribal music, mutual influences are not rare. Forms or styles like Lavani or Turra Malagi are found in regions like Andhra, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. These are popular ballads on heroic themes or folk tales and legends in different parts of the country with interesting similarities of motifs, styles and techniques. Some examples are : Alha of Bundelkhand, Heer of the Punjab, Powda of Maharashtra and Burrakatha of Andhra. Almost all parts of the country have songs related to the rythm of the seasons, e.g. the savani or Kajari of Bhojpur sung at the best of the drizzling rain or the Holi of Braj, expressing the Dhol, Madal, Mridanga, Bansari, Shehnai are found in different regions with local variations in their names, shapes and in the manner of playing them.

In the sphere of dance also, the classical systems of north, east and south like Kathak, Odissi, Manipuri, Kuchipudi, Bharatnatyam and Kathakali have, in spite of a common heritage of aesthetic principles,

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evolved their own distinctive styles and flavour frequently through interaction with the popular and folk dances of their region, which are more closely integrated with the life of the people. Almost all the regions have dances relating to agricultural activity, seasonal cycles and associated festivals. What is interesting to note is that though the source of inspiration and the motifs are quite often the same, yet a distinct pattern of movement and choreography characterise the folk forms of each region.

The country has a magnificent variety of dramatic forms in different regions - both traditional and folk. Most of them carry forward some of the aesthetic principals laid down in the Natya Sastra and follow common or similar conventions. Their themes have their sources in Ramayana and Mahabharata. Particularly, the 12th Century Sanskrit poem Geet Govind has given them a common tradition of total theatre consisting of music, song, dance, mime, poetry and gesture. There are interesting instances of migration of forms and performers with the intermingling of various communities and groups, i.e. Krishna Parijat in the South is performed by Muslim performers; or, the singer-performers of Kathiawar have migrated to Andhra to perform a particular form of Ramayana. Dummy Horse performances are common in Tamil Nadu as well as in Tamil Nadu; or, performances of narrative-dramatic verses based on scenes painted on large cloth pieces or on papers are found in Rajasthan, Andhra or Bengal. Such mingling of the common features and distinctive elements is a characteristic of other art forms also, like painting, scrupture, architecture, poetry, both in the sophisticated urban traditions as well as, in fact more pronouncedly, in the popular fold traditions of different regions.

Indian culture can be truly understood only if we understand its unique composite character, in which the elements of diversity are as important as the common and unifying motifs, traditions and aesthetic sensibilities shaping them.

Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces

Looking back at the totality of the processes discussed above, the essential feature of the social geography of India appears to be the symbolic relationship between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the Indian polity, producing a delicate balance of unity in diversity. The centripetal forces were released by the horizontal spread of techniques and other socio-economic and cultural traits, which, on the one hand, got impregnated into regional systems and contributed to their integration into larger entities, and, on the other got sustenance from these regional systems, became transformed in this process to play their integrative role more effectively. The centrifugal forces were generated by the requirements of different econ-systems and man's interaction within them, leading to regionally specific responses to varying landscapes. In an important sense, the history of India is the history of inter-action of these two kinds of forces.

The emergence of the Solasmahajanpadas by about the 6th Century B.S.

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provides the basal stratum of the Indian regional structure. The building of the Magadhian empire led to the development of inter regional communication and the horizontal spread of centripetal tendencies. Kautilya described the whole land between the Himalayas and the seas as Chakravarti Kshetra or the emperors realm. It may be noted the Samrat or the Chakravarti did not disturb the regional entities but only superimposed his suzerainty over them. The fall of the empire led to a period of political fragmentation and the resurgence of centrifugal forces. This period roughly between 700 and 1,000 - sometimes considered to be a period of decay. This overlooks the fact that regional cultures flourished and developed at a rapid rate during this epoch. As Subbarao has pointed out: ....the period from the 7th Century after the Christian era has seen the rise and development of provincial languages and literatures, creative styles of temple architecture in the provinces - Gujarat, Orissa and Central India".

The coming in of the Pathans, Iranians and Central Asians during the medieval period accelerated the inter-play between the centripetal and centrifugal trends and the unity in diversity of India emerged at a higher level. The Mughal suba, Sarkar and the pergana for example, were, by and large, based on the hierarchy of regional identities as it had evolved within the environmental framework of India through time. The process of empire building strengthened the centripetal tendencies.

The British disrupted the indigenous regional structure to meet the requirements of the exploitation of the Indian people. It was done in the following ways :

First, a port oriented centrifugal transport network was imposed on the Indian soil, which fragmented the Home market and weakened the centripetal forces in the polity.

Second, the unnatural differentiation between the princely India and the rest of the country was created and strengthened; and historically evolved regions were thus fragmented. The region of the Malayalam speaking people was broken up into Malabar, incorporated in the province of Madras, and the rest assimilated in the princely state of Travancore-Cochin.

Third, unnatural "mixtures" were created which broke cultural identities and amalgamated parts of many into one unit. The princely state of Hyderabad, for example, was made upof slices from Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka.

The British, thus, struck simultaneously against the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in the Indian polity and against the healthy interplay between the two, which was the gift of both Indian geography and Indian history. Independent India, consequently, inherited a fragmented regional structure. One of the primary challenges that has to be met effectively related to the correlation of these regional distortions. The national movement, which was already committed to the liquidation of princely enclaves and the reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis, met this challenge effectively. The present administrative map

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of India reflects the continuity of tradition. From the Solasamahajanpadas of the 6th Century B.C. to the linguistic states of our own times, is a historical continuum in geographically differentiated space.

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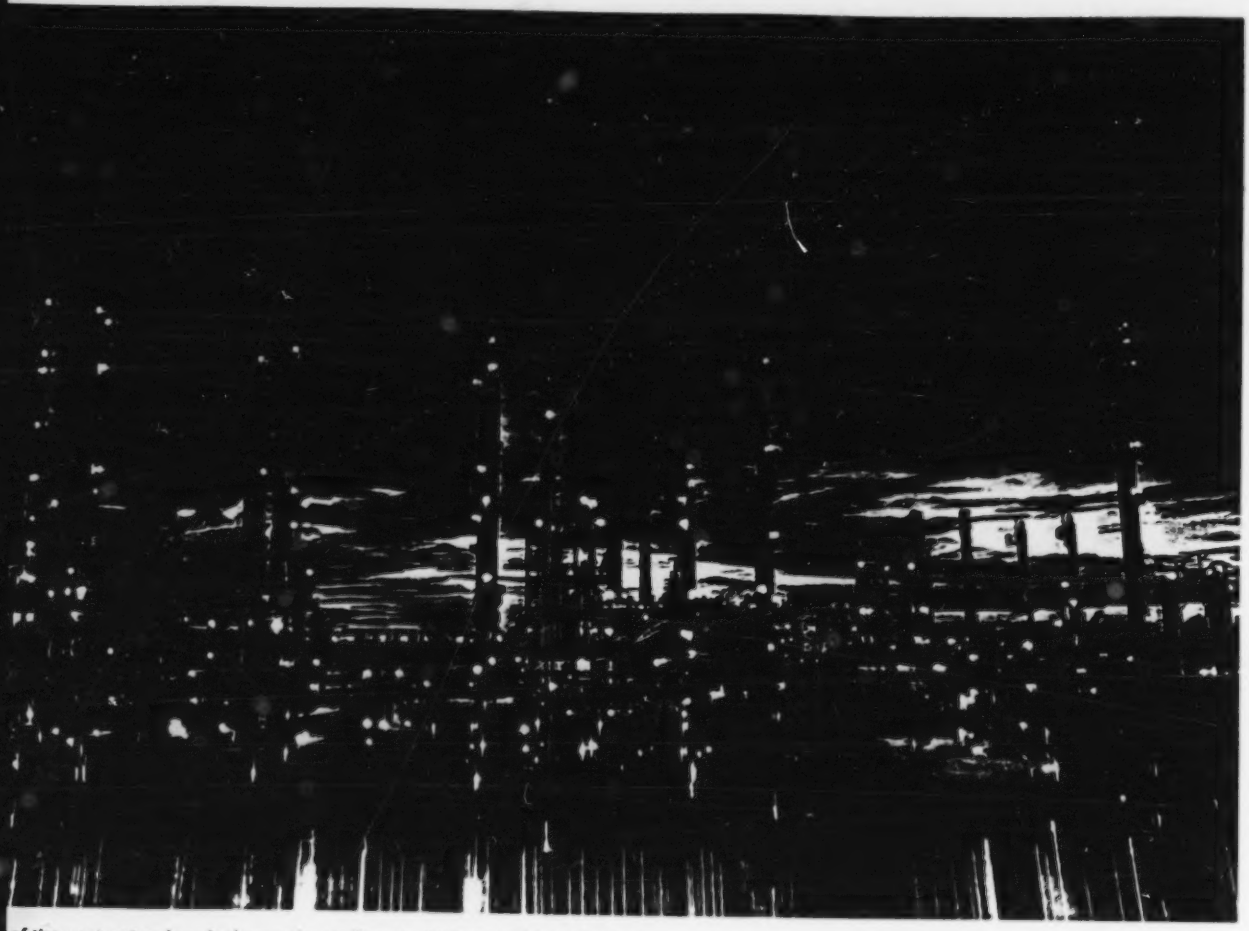

of the vast petrochemical complex at Baroda (Gujarat) which has been
gned and built by Indian engineers.

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ncers perform a Ladakhi folk dance at Leh.

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iva depicted as Lord of the Dance. taraja, a Chola bronze, tenth ntury, Tamil Nadu. The rhythms Shiva's dance govern the iverse. In the left hand he holds e, symbolic of the inevitable struction of all that lives; his right nd is raised to bring reassurance; right foot crushes a squirming varf who represents enlightened man.

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